Gal 5 de

THE HISTORY OF POLAND UNDER AUGUSTUS II.

WHICH CONTAINS

The great Diſpute between that PRINCE and the PRINCES of *Conti* and *Sobieski* for the Crown: With the other important Tranſactions of his Life, and with which the beſt Account of the Government, Laws, Diets, Aſſemblies, Manners of Electing their Kings, Power and Factions of the Nobility, Militia, Intereſt of the Republick, *&c.* is occaſionally interſperſed.

Tranſlated from the *French* of the

ABBE DE PARTHENAY,

By *JOHN STACIE*, Eſq;

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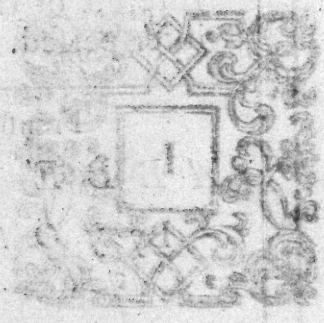
THE

HISTORY

OF

ANGUSTUS II.

Earl of Strathconan.



To the Right Honourable

ANTHONY,

Earl of SHAFTSBURY.

My LORD,

I TAKE the Liberty, which I hope You will have the Goodneſs to excuſe, to preſent your Lordſhip this Tranſlation of the Hiſtory of *Poland*, under the late King *Auguſtus*; not that I believe your Lordſhip does

not underſtand the Original much better than my ſelf, but as its Novelty may make a Copy of it agreeable in any Language. And I am the apter to believe, it may not be unacceptable to your Lordſhip, not only as it includes a general Idea of the Cuſtoms and Polity of a Nation, upon which all *Europe* are now intent, but from the extraordinary Events of its late Monarch's Life, which was perhaps as active and ſevere a Courſe of every kind of Fortune and Politicks, as ever exerciſed the Soul of Prince.

Whether the Author has treated his Subject according to its Dignity, I leave to your Lordſhip and others to determine: I have endeavoured to make him ſpeak our Language, for the Uſe of thoſe who are unacquainted with his own. With what Succeſs I ſubmit alſo to better Judges: Of this I am aſſured, that in rendering his abridged manner of Writing into *Engliſh*,

liſh, I have ſufficiently experienced the Truth of *Horace*'s;

Difficile eſt propriè Communia dicere---

For the reſt, my Lord, I refer your Lordſhip to his own Preface, which, as it gives ſome Account of his Work, was thought proper to be annexed to the Tranſlation.

I might here take occaſion, my Lord, after the Example of my Brethren, the Bad Writers of theſe *ſad* Times, to expatiate into abundant Encomium upon your Lordſhip's high Qualities, great Abilities, and heroick Virtues; but upon conſulting my Genius I find it ſo unequal to the Praiſe You muſt deſerve, that I chooſe rather to ſuppreſs my Paſſion for your Reputation, than to injure your Lordſhip by an aukward Effect of it.

The Compliments, too frequent in Writings of this kind, ſeem rather

what an Author makes to his own happy Faculties of Diſtinguiſhing, than the real Characteriſticks of the Noble Perſon to whom they are addreſſed. To underſtand exalted Merit, ſeems to imply a kind of Superiority in him who pretends to it, and is, methinks, a tacit Inſinuation of a Capacity for ſomething more: At leaſt the Great alone can praiſe each other. My Lord, I hope, I never ſhall have a Vanity of this kind; and when I aſſure You, the World entertains the higheſt Hopes of your Lordſhip's future Excellencies, from the early Promiſes of your Youth, I only ſpeak the Opinion of others, which I am glad to believe my ſelf.

Another Inducement for preſenting your Lordſhip this Volume, and which I cannot help thinking no vulgar Motive, is the Obligation I am under for the Improvement of my Reaſon (tho' not ſo great as that of many others

others, *from the Want of Leiſure* and Capacity) to the excellent Works of your truly illuſtrious Father. Works! which the beſt Judges agree, will for ever be ranked amongſt the Firſt (if not THE FIRST) of Writings, by all but * Such, whoſe Intereſt it is to ſupport eſtabliſhed Prejudices, too tender for ſo exquiſite a Criterion.

This, my Lord, I own is but a poor Return for what muſt be the greateſt of Benefactions, as the Rectitude of the Judgment and the Enlargement of the Soul infinitely tranſcend all other Advantages. It is however of the Nature of Gratitude to intend to be grateful, tho' defective in the Means---- But whatever other Wants I may have, ſuffer me to aſſure You, my Lord, That of the

* Enthuſiaſts in Criticiſm, Morality, Philoſophy, and Religion.

utmoſt

utmoſt Reſpect for your Lordſhip's Perſon and Virtues, will never be of the Number, and that I am fond of this publick Occaſion of expreſſing, how much I have the Honour to be,

My LORD,

Your LORDSHIP's

moſt Humble, and

moſt Obedient Servant,

JOHN STACIE.

THE

Author's Preface.

IN giving this Hiſtory to the Publick I have had more regard to the Dignity of the Subject, than the Manner of treating it. It includes a Reign, upon which all Europe *was long intent, notwithſtanding the Diverſity of Objects that might well have deſerved a Share in its Attention. It treats of a Throne obtained by Policy and immenſe Profuſions, held ſeveral Years by Perſeverance and unwearied Application, notwithſtanding the utmoſt Efforts of Sedition and the Spirit of Party, loſt to Revenge, reſtored by Affection, and poſſeſſed in Conſequence thro' an alternate Succeſſion of Complaints and Applauſes. This would require one of thoſe Pens, for which the Publick reſerves its utmoſt Favour and Approbation, and Mine is very far from being of that Number. The Employments and*

Occaſions

The Author's Preface.

Occaſions which have obliged me to viſit moſt of the Courts of Europe, *have left me very little leiſure to exerciſe my ſelf in Writing. But I have at leaſt the Advantage in return, of having ſeen with my own Eyes, and of knowing from my ſelf or from Perſons well informed, the greateſt Part of the Facts I relate.*

Many Perſons would here take Occaſion to mortify the Publick with an unneceſſary Recital of their own Adventures, and to introduce a tedious Detail of ſuperfluous Perſonalities: But I am too ſenſible of the Ridicule of ſuch Behaviour to fall into it myſelf. It does not at all concern the Publick, to know thoſe Circumſtances of my Life, which have ſupply'd me with the Knowledge neceſſary to the writing of this Hiſtory: For, beſides that, I cannot enter into Accounts of my ſelf without Indiſcretion, ſuch Narratives would be of no Conſequence at all to the underſtanding of the Events I treat.

The Reader muſt not expect to find in my Work a Journal of Auguſtus's *Amours. That Prince, the moſt Gallant of his Time, might ſupply ſufficient matter of that kind for Volumes; but I muſt obſerve that it is not the King of* Poland's *Life which I write,*

and

and much leſs the Hiſtory of his Amours. What I propoſe is to give a juſt Idea of what he did as King of Poland *from* Sobieski's *to his own Death. I leave to ſuch as pleaſe to uſe them, a thouſand little Stories which do not enter into my Plan, and which my Profeſſion does not admit me to deſcribe, and have too good an Opinion of the Publick to apprehend their reproaching me for the Omiſſion.*

An Apprehenſion of another kind ſeems to me better founded, which I ſhall beg leave to repeat. Monſieur Voltaire *has publiſhed an Hiſtory of* Charles XII *King of* Sweden, *which is now in every Body's Hands. I have read it with Attention, and find both He and I often treat the ſame Subject, but certainly differ vaſtly in our ſtating Facts. Should he be asked how this happens, I don't know what his Anſwer would be; Mine is eaſy, and This.*

Mr. Voltaire *has wrote a Poem in Verſe, upon the Civil Wars of* France *in the Time of* Henry IV. *and ſeems fond of making another in Proſe upon the King of* Sweden's *Wars. Convinced that a Book, with ſo celebrated a Name to it as his, could not fail of being well received, he has not been at much trouble in examining his Materials,*

Materials, but has taken them in groſs, ran over them lightly; and mingling the whole with a Rapidity of Stile and Images, that engage the Reader's Attention, he ſcarce regards whether his Deſcriptions of Towns, Sieges and Battles, are true or not. He contents himſelf with the Probable, and ventures the Correction of a Multitude of Witneſſes ſtill living, or whoſe Memoirs are publick.

The Siege of Riga *in* 1700 *is an Inſtance to juſtify what I ſay. According to the Poetical Hiſtorian, the Place was beſieged in form, the Attacks were puſhed with vigour, and the Defence of the Beſieged was warm and obſtinate.* "*The King of* Poland, *ſays Mr.* Voltaire, *be-*
" *ſieged the Place in perſon ..... Count* Flem-
" ming *ſince Miniſter of* Poland, *a great Man*
" *both in the Camp and Cabinet, and the Sieur*
" Patkul *preſſed the Siege in the King's Pre-*
" *ſence, the one with all the Activity of his*
" *Character, the other with all the Obſtinacy*
" *of Revenge. But notwithſtanding the ſeveral*
" *Advantages which the Beſiegers had gained,*
" *the old Count* Alberg's *Experience fruſtrated*
" *their Endeavours.*"

What Difference there is between this Account and all others, which agree in ſaying, that the Beſiegers only fired a few Cannon Shot;

that

that the King and his Generals preſſed the Inhabitants more by Promiſes and Threats, than by vigorous Attacks; that 'till the 28th *of* Auguſt *the Time paſſed in Preparations; that the* 6th *of* September *they began to throw Bombs into the Place, but rather with intent to frighten than do damage to the Beſieged; that the ſame thing had been done a few Days before upon making trial of the Mortars; and that the red hot Balls ſhot into the Town two Days after, were to as little effect as the Bombs? There is not the leaſt Foundation in this for the Idea Mr.* Voltaire *would give us of the Activity and Obſtinacy of the Generals, Beſides which, far from finding* ſeveral Advantages gained *by the Beſiegers, upon a nearer Examination we ſhall obſerve, that the fire of the Artillery from the Town, which was not inferior to that of the* Saxon *Army, ought to have done more damage to the Beſiegers, than they did to the Works.*

Who can know Altena *in the Deſcription Mr.* Voltaire *gives us of it?* " Altena, *ſays he, lies* " *above* Hamburgh *upon the River* Elbe, " *which carries Veſſels of tolerable Burden* " *into its Port.*" *However all the World knows that* Altena *is below, and not above* Hamburgh. *The Poetical Hiſtorian, by conſulting any Map, might have learnt the true*

Situation

Situation of that Town, and have found it has no other Port but the River. What he ſays afterwards is not more exact. His Troops, ſays he ſpeaking of Steinbock, *were in the Suburbs with Torch in hand. A weak wooden Gate with a Foſſé already filled up, were the only Defence of* Altena. *In hearing him ſpeak of Suburbs, might not one conceive* Altena *a conſiderable City, with Suburbs at leaſt to it; whereas in reality* Altena *is it ſelf no more than a Suburb without the Gate of the City of* Hamburgh; *and when he mentions a Gate and Foſſé, might it not be imagined, that he ſpeaks of a fortified Town? It is however certain, that there are no Works at* Altena, *and that it never was incloſed with ſuch a Foſſé as is uſual in fortified Places, unleſs that Name may be given to a kind of Drain for carrying off the Water after great Rains. Mr.* Voltaire's *whole Work abounds with Negligences that would diſgrace an Hiſtory, tho' they are excuſable in a Poem, eſpecially when we reflect that the Poet's deſign was not to inſtruct, but to delight with lively and animated Deſcriptions; that if Veracity be indiſpenſibly neceſſary to Hiſtory, it is not equally ſo to a Poet, who is often in the right to prefer to a languid and diſagreeable Truth a Probability that gives Life and Spirit to his Narration. It was for want of entering into this way of thinking, that an illuſtrious Senator*

nator of Sweden *ſpoke of Mr.* Voltaire *with the utmoſt Contempt. He conſidered his Book only as an Hiſtory, whereas had he taken it as a Poem, he could not have denied him due Praiſe.*

As I am ſenſible it is not in my Power to make my Readers the ſame amends in point of Style, I have kept the cloſer to Hiſtorical Truth, and have omitted nothing that might conduce to that Effect. Full of Reſpect and Admiration for the Virtue of every Country, I have not been prejudiced in favour of any Nation; and if I have drawn ſome Perſons in colours not to their Advantage, their Conduct, which it was my duty not to diſguiſe, was bad and irregular, I have had no reſpect to Perſons, and the Primate Radziewski, *tho' Archbiſhop of* Gneſna *and a Cardinal, is as little flatter'd in my Book, as the Seculars and Men of the Sword. On the contrary his double Dealing and the Spirit of Treaſon, which animates that Prelate during the Troubles of his Country, ſeem to me a monſtrous Character, and infinitely more unpardonable in an Eccleſiaſtick than the turbulent and ſeditious Diſpoſition of ſome of the Grandees.*

This

The Author's Preface.

This History is contained in four Books, of which each concludes naturally with some considerable Event, as the double Election of the two Competitors for the Crown of Poland; Augustus *delivered at length from the Prince of* Conti's *Opposition; The Battle of* Narva *and the Dethroning of* Augustus. *I thought proper at each of these affecting Periods, to give the Reader an Opportunity of suspending his Study and Attention. The other Books are disposed in the same Method. I leave the rest to the Taste and Decision of the Publick.*





THE HISTORY OF *POLAND* UNDER AUGUSTUS II.

Book I.

EUROPE had long been harraſſed with an almoſt univerſal War. The *Turk*, whoſe Conqueſts had opened him a Paſſage thro' all *Auſtria* to the Gates of it's Capital, had ſeen his formidable

General Situation of *Europe* in the Reign of *Sobieſki*.

midable Army under the Walls of *Vienna* overthrown and diſperſed. Seized in his Turn with the Terrors, into which he had thrown all *Germany*, and reduced to fly before the Troops he had deſpiſed a few Days before, he thought himſelf happy in having brought off the Ruins of his Army to his ancient Frontier.

Lewis the Fourteenth, whom a Train of uninterrupted Succeſſes had made the Terror of his Neighbours, had conſented to ſuſpend by a Truce the antient Quarrel between his own, and the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and, to uſe the Language of thoſe Times, * the Sun had ſtopped his Courſe that *Joſhua* might have Time to conquer the *Canaanites*: But being ſatisfied with the Meaſures he had taken with the Emperor in that dangerous and difficult Conjuncture, he did not think it proper to continue him thoſe Succours which were become leſs neceſſary, and which he foreſaw he ſhould have Occaſion to make Uſe of himſelf, in the Execution of the Changes he meditated at home.

The Revolution in *England*, and the famous Treaty of *Auſburgh*, had given Reaſon to the greateſt Part of *Europe* to enter into Engagments againſt *France*; and that Crown had to ſupport it ſelf at the ſame Time againſt the Emperor and the whole Empire,

* The Sun was at that Time almoſt in all the Devices of th t Monarch.

Spain,

Spain, *England*, *Holland*, *Savoy*, and other confederate Powers.

The Party taken by the Emperor in this War was the moſt advantagious to the *Ottoman* Intereſt the Divan could deſire. It occaſioned a Diverſion, that gave the *Turks* Time to take Breath; and they no longer apprehended an Enemy, who, inſtead of augmenting his Troops and drawing them all together for the entire Conqueſt of *Hungary*, laid himſelf under the Neceſſity of employing them elſewhere.

League between the Emperor, *Poland* and *Venice* againſt the *Turk*.

It is true there was an Alliance ſubſiſting between the Emperor, the King of *Poland*, and the *Venetians*; but as the Emperor had reduced himſelf to the Defenſive, the *Venetians* were in no Condition to act offenſively alone; and *Leopold* by an unaccountable Policy had deprived himſelf of the King of *Poland*'s Aſſiſtance. That Hero, whoſe Valour and great Abilities the *Turks* had before ſufficiently experienced, had a great Share in the Glory of the Campaign, which drove them out of the Empire; and *Auſtria* could not deny without Ingratitude it's being indebted for the Preſervation of it's Capital to *Sobieſki*.

The Emperor's Conduct to *Sobieſki*.

This Monarch was however not treated by the Emperor with all the Gratitude his glorious Services might give him Reaſon to expect. In an Interview between them, *Leopold* affected a ſtiff, punctilious Ceremo-

nial, and piqued himſelf unſeaſonably upon making a Prince ſenſible of his Superiority, who had juſt before recovered him *Vienna*, *Auſtria*, and *Hungary*, and who for no other Reward than the Glory of relieving an Ally, had left his own Dominions, and come to preſerve him from the common Enemy.

The Emperor, when he ſaw his Affairs on that Side were ſo re-eſtabliſhed, that he could ſpare the King of *Poland*, was better pleaſed to diſguſt, and by that Means induce him to retire, than to multiply Obligations at his own Expence. The wretched Winter Quarters, aſſigned the *Poles*, were ſufficiently expreſſive of his Sentiments in regard to them. Thus the Generoſity of *Sobieſki* in flying to the Relief of *Vienna*, the Prodigies of his Valour, admired even by the *Turks*, and the Dangers to which he expoſed his Perſon in the Battle of *Barca*, had no other Return than the Coldneſs of a Court, from which he deſerved the higheſt Gratitude and Acknowledgment.

The Court of *Vienna* oppoſe him in every Thing.

This Coldneſs of Behaviour was not all; they carried it ſo far as to do him ill Offices. *Sobieſki* had deſired one of the Archducheſſes for Prince *James* his eldeſt Son: His Propoſal was rejected, and, to add to the Refuſal, Meaſures were taken to prevent the young Prince from eſpouſing the Princeſs of *Radzivil*. The immenſe Fortunes in her

her Poſſeſſion ſeemed to the Empreſs a ſufficient Motive for traverſing that Alliance. The Imperial Miniſter managed ſo well, that the Princeſs was married to Prince *Charles* of *Neuburgh*, the Empreſſes Brother, notwithſtanding her prior Engagement to the Prince of *Poland*, to whom, for the Security of her Promiſe, ſhe had by Writing in Form reſigned her Eſtate, in caſe ſhe ſhould fail to perform it.

In vain would the King have put this Writing in Execution. Thro' the Intrigues of the Imperial Miniſters, the Diet of *Grodno* came to nothing; and all the others which he aſſembled during his Life had no better Succeſs. The Court of *Vienna* thought themſelves ſufficiently acquitted in marrying a Princeſs of the Houſe of *Neuburgh* to Prince *James*; an Alliance ſo well recommended, and ſo affecting to the Queen, that ſhe ſpared no Expence however conſiderable to promote it.

Miſunderſtanding between the King and his Subjects.

Theſe were not the only Difficulties the King had to ſurmount. He could not ſee without Grief *Kaminiek*, the only Fortreſs the *Poles* had on that Side, ſubjected to the *Turks*, and with it *Podolia*, one of the moſt fertile Provinces of the Kingdom. He had promiſed himſelf not only to regain them, but all the Republick had loſt under the Kings, his Predeceſſors. This the Deſtiny of *Poland* would not admit. They

were not now the ſame *Poles* who had followed him thro' Dangers with ſo much Ardour, when he was only Grand Marſhal or General of the Crown. They ſeemed to have forgot their Victories under his Conduct, and betray an Indolence fit only to diſconcert his Projects.

Even in his own Family ſprung up two Enemies not a little formidable, as they were both Men of Capacity, and in Employments that gave them the greateſt Authority.

Intrigue of *Wielopolſki.*

One of them, *Wielopolſki*, was Grand Chancellor of the Crown, and the Queen's Brother-in-Law. He had framed a Conſpiracy, and by the Number and Quality of his Aſſociates in the Project, was capable of occaſioning great Revolutions in the State; but a Diſtemper, which in a few Days proved mortal, diſconcerted his Scheme, and delivered the Court from that Danger. As ſoon as he perceived an Intrigue, of which himſelf was the Soul, was upon the Point of falling to the Ground by his Death, he burnt all the Letters of the Conſpirators, to prevent the King's Knowledge of their pernicious Deſign.

Conduct of Cardinal *Radziewſki.*

The other was *Radziewſki*, the King's near Relation, whom he had raiſed to the Dignity of Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*. That high Station, to which the Primacy of *Poland* is annexed, did not make ſo great an Impreſſion upon him, as the King's Refuſal to procure him the firſt Cardinal's Hat

in

in his Nomination. *Sobieſki* had beſtowed it upon the Biſhop of *Marſeilles*, who had not a little contributed to his Election. The Pope afterwards of his own Accord granted him the Purple. This ungrateful Prelate made no other Return for theſe Honours, than to apply them perpetually in Oppoſition to the Meaſures, which the King his Benefactor thought fit to take for the Eſtabliſhment of his Family.

Ingratitude ſeemed inſeparable from *Sobieſki*'s Favour and Services. The *Sapiehas* were in a great meaſure indebted to him for the Dignities they enjoyed in *Poland*. He had brought them out of the Duchy of *Lithuania*, where, notwithſtanding their great Riches, they lived in obſcurity, comparatively to the Condition in which he found Means to place them by his Credit. He did indeed make Uſe of them to counterpoiſe the Power of the *Patz*, whoſe Party were no way favourable to him: And that Motive the *Sapiehas* conceived equivalent to all he had done for them; ſo that believing themſelves under no Obligation, they took upon them to oppoſe him in every thing: At the Diet of *Grodno* mentioned before, they entered into a Treaty with the Imperial Miniſters, and diſſolved it. Prince *James* was preſent at that Meeting, in Hopes of being admitted to accompany his Father under the Canopy, and ſeat himſelf by his Side: At which the *Sapiehas* took Umbrage,

Ambition of the *Sapiehas*

apprehenſive leſt the Nation, accuſtomed to ſee that Prince ſo near the Throne, ſhould reſolve to place him upon it after the King's Death. Which Apprehenſion made a ſtronger Impreſſion upon them as their own Views of it were not very remote. They flattered themſelves either to ſecure the Crown, or at leaſt to diſmember the Duchy of *Lithuania* for themſelves; which Duchy they already governed almoſt as Sovereigns. Senſible the King could do nothing without Diets, they always found Means to introduce ſuch Incidents, as rendered their Meeting ineffectual. Their Quarrel with the Biſhop of *Wilna* occaſioned no common Diſorders.

Quarrel of *Sapieha* and the Biſhop of *Wilna*

Sapieha, General of the Troops of *Lithuania*, had quartered a Garriſon upon the Lands of that Biſhop, who complained exceedingly of ſo great a Violation of his Immunities. That Prelate after ſeveral uſeleſs Endeavours excommunicated the General, who got himſelf abſolved by *Radziewſki*. This Affair divided the whole Kingdom, and was a Pretext for diſſolving the Diets. The fatal Diviſion continued during all the Reign of *Sobieſki*.

Sobieſki diſguſted leads an itinerant kind of Life.

The King, offended to find ſuch Diffidence and Coldneſs in a Nation, whoſe Glory was his only Aim, and piqued with the repeated Oppoſition of the Perſons he had loaded with his Favours, at length made a Reſolu-

Reſolution conformable to his Age, the State of his Health, and the Intereſt of his Iſſue. From a Prince, liberal to Prodigality when only a private Perſon, he entirely changed his Conduct, and corrected his former Exceſs by falling into the contrary Extreme.

A Court always reſident in one Place could not avoid abundance of Expences to ſupport its Grandeur. The King and Queen led an itinerant kind of Life, and never appeared in the Capital, but when the Seaſon, or ſome indiſpenſable Occaſion confined them there. The *Poliſh* Court was ſometimes ſeen in one Province, ſometimes in another, viſiting the King's Lands either in *Ruſſia*, the *Ukraine*, or elſewhere, and by that Means ſaving all, that Pomp and Luxury would have conſumed at *Warſaw*. The King expended little, and nothing without Reluctance. From Profuſion he fell to Oeconomy, and from Oeconomy to Avarice, which Alteration has the Apology of being leſs the Effect of his Will than his Policy.

Motives for ſtrict Oeconomy.

The Queen had made this Frugality neceſſary, by the great Expences ſhe had been at in promoting the Alliances, which approached her Children to the Points ſhe had in View. Beſides the great Sums of Money ſhe had ſacrificed to the Marriage of her Son Prince *James* with the Princeſs of *Neubourgh*, and to that of her Daughter with the Elector of *Bavaria*; ſhe had perfectly experienced

experienced the Force of Money, during an *Interregnum*, in determining the Parties that diſpoſe of the Election; and ſhe was far from being willing her Children ſhould loſe a Throne, for want of what was neceſſary to aſſure them a Number of Voices. At all Events ſhe thought a rich and weighty Patrimony would be a Conſolation to them, if they ſhould not ſucceed their Father; and it muſt be allowed, if Riches could do it, ſhe gave them Reaſon enough to be contented without a Crown.

The Age and Infirmities of the King were another Motive with her for haſtening her Diſpoſitions. As he roſe to the Throne by a Gradation of Dignities, that inſenſibly approached him to it, his Reign did not begin till the fiftieth Year of his Age. The Fatigues of War had added very much to his bodily Infirmities; a Bloating which was turned into a Dropſy left no Room to expect he could live much longer. He did not however dye of that Diſtemper. It ſeemed to give way to the Medicines he made uſe of, and it was generally believed he was better in Health, when a Fit of the Apoplexy on the 17th *June* 1696, overthrew that Opinion. By Degrees he came to himſelf, as if from Slumber, when he was informed of his Danger. He then deſired to take the Sacraments of the Church, which he received with great Preſence of Mind; he embraced

braced his Children, recommended them to his Friends, received again the laſt Abſolution, preſently after which his Fit returned, and he expired at nine the ſame Evening. His Death *June* 1696.

Thus ended the Reign of one of the greateſt Heroes *Poland* ever produced. He was born 1624, and made Grand Marſhall of the Crown 1665. Two Years after which he roſe to the Dignity of Great General of the Kingdom. To theſe Honours were added Grand Maſter of the Houſhould, Palatine of *Cracow*, &c. *Poland* at that Time thought it impoſſible to reward an Officer ſufficiently, who had delivered it from the infamous Tribute, which the weak *Michael Koribut*, who then reigned, had conſented to pay the *Turks*. *Sobieſki* avenged his Country by the Victory of *Cochin*. He had before recovered for the Republick ſixty Towns in the *Ukraïne* where the *Coſſacks* had roſe in Arms. A long Series of Victories or Conqueſts ſhortened the Interval between them and the Throne; and even after he was aſſured of it, by his Election *May* 10, 1674, that he might deſerve the Crown by new Services, he delayed fifteen Months the Ceremony of his Coronation, to juſtify ſtill better the Choice of the Republick. That Interval he applied in attaining ſuch Advantages from the *Turks* as reduced them to ſolicite a Peace. It was concluded at *Zurowna* 1675, and continued 'till Spring His Praiſe.

1696. Spring 1683. That Year, ſo glorious to this Monarch, by the Relief of *Vienna*, opened him a new Career; the paſt was the Earneſt of the future, and the Emperor and the *Poles* might have aſſured themſelves of a long Series of Triumphs, had not the Jealouſy of the one, and the Diviſions of the others been invincible Obſtacles to their Progreſs. When diſguſted in *Germany* he would have confined himſelf to the Intereſts of *Poland*, his Generals complained, that his Preſence laid them under too much reſtraint, and left them no Opportunity of ſignaliſing themſelves; and after his having complyed with their Inclinations, when the great Faults they committed obliged him to reſume the Command of his Army, they ſeconded him ſo ill, that they put it entirely out of his Power to do any Thing of great Importance.

His Character. *Sobieſki* was to *Poland* what *Veſpaſian* was to the *Roman* Empire; each of them roſe by the ſame Degrees and the ſame Virtues from the Command of Armies to ſovereign Authority; and both are reproached with the ſame Failings; to finiſh the Parallel, *Sobieſki* did not leave the Scepter to his Son. *Poland* had perhaps gained a *Titus* thereby, but the Cuſtoms of the Kingdom would not admit it, and tho' the *Poles* ſhould have inclined to take one of his Family for the King's Succeſſor, their Choice could not have

have been confirmed without great Difficulties. They looked upon the eldeſt as the Son of the Grand Marſhall only, and gave the Quality of Prince Royal to the Prince born after his Father's Election. 1696.

Their Mother was not without her Hopes, till the Election undeceived her. The immenſe Treaſures in the King's Coffers were divided equally between her ſelf and the three Princes her Sons, and the Partition made with very good Order and Union, only three Rings and as many Watches ſet with Diamonds were miſſing; and that Loſs, tho' computed at an hundred thouſand Crowns, did not ſeem conſiderable enough to occaſion much Enquiry. The Diviſion of the Lands of the Royal Family took up more Time, but was conducted with the ſame Concord and Unity. Diviſion of his Eſtate.

The Primate *Radziewſki* was in the Country when an Expreſs brought him News of the King's Death; upon which he went immediately to *Warſaw*, where he made a magnificent Entry. All the Senators then in that City, with all the great Officers of the Crown, came out to receive him, and to add to his Train. In Quality of Archbiſhop of *Gneſna* and Primate of *Poland*, the Regency of the Kingdom, during the *Interregnum*, veſted in him, and in the ſame Right the Royal Authority, till the Coronation of the Succeſſor. Upon his Arrival he repair'd to the Beginning of the *Interregnum*. *July* 24.

1696. the King's Apartment to view the Body, and after his Prayer, and having placed a Crown ſet with Jewels at the Feet of the Bed, he gave the neceſſary Orders for calling the Provincial Diets, that prepare the general Diet. An Aſſembly of the Biſhops, Senators, and the great Generals of *Poland* and *Lithuania* concluded with the Primate to ſend Circular Letters into the Provinces to ſignify the *Interregnum*, and give them Notice to prepare all Things for the Diet; to diſpatch Couriers to all the Courts of *Europe* to notify the King's Death; to reinforce the Garriſons upon the Frontiers, and to aſſign them pay out of the Revenues of the Crown; to provide for the Security of *Fort-Trinity* and the other Conqueſts in *Moldavia*. The Precaution in regard to the Fort was the more neceſſary, becauſe as it lay very near *Kaminieck*, into which the *Turks* had lately thrown a great Convoy, it was to be feared they would take the Advantage of this Conjuncture to ſeize alſo upon that Place.

The Reader will excuſe me for interrupting a little the Thread of this Hiſtory to make ſome Obſervations eſſential to the right underſtanding of it. For the few, who have no Occaſion for ſuch Explications, there are great Numbers who do not know the Meaning of *Inferior Diets*, *Poſtpolite* and other Terms, with which an Hiſtory

ſtory of *Poland* muſt neceſſarily abound. 1696.
It is an Hiſtorian's Duty to adapt himſelf to all his Readers.

The Government of *Poland* is a Mixture of the Monarchical and Ariſtocratical; the ſovereign Authority is divided in great meaſure between the King and the Republick, repreſented by the Diet on ſpecial Occaſions, or the Senate in the ordinary Courſe, when the Diet is not aſſembled. Idea of the Government of *Poland*.

The Senate is compoſed of the Biſhops, the Palatines, the Caſtellans, and the ten great Officers. The Senate.

The Biſhops have the firſt Rank, and are ſixteen in Number, of whom *Kiow* and *Smolenſko* are only titular, ſince thoſe Cities have been disjoined from *Poland* in Favour of *Muſcovy*. Upon a Vacancy of theſe Titles, there are ſeldom wanting Eccleſiaſticks enough to ſollicite for them, as they give the Title and Rank of Senators. The Archbiſhop of *Gneſna* is always the firſt Perſon of the Senate, and Head and Regent of the Kingdom in the Interregnum. By his Authority he can coin Money, and iſſue his univerſal or circular Letters to all the Orders of the Republick, for their holding inferior Diets; and he can appoint the Time for the Meeting of the General Diet. He alſo proclaims the King upon his being elected. The *Poles* conceived a Prelate the fitteſt to be truſted with ſo great an Authority, apprehenſive The Biſhops.

1696. prehenſive if a ſecular Perſon ſhould have it, he might abuſe it to ſet the Crown upon his own Head. The Archbiſhop of *Leopol* or *Lemberg* is next in Rank.

The Palatines. The Palatines of *Poland* are what the *French* call *Senechaux* or Grand Baillies *(chief Magiſtrates of a certain Diſtrict.)* Each of them in the Army commands the Troops of his Palatinate, preſides in the Aſſemblies of the Nobility of the Province, and acts juridically in many other Reſpects. Under him is a Vice Palatine. The Thirty two Palatines of *Poland* and *Lithuania* are the firſt Secular Senators, and tho' generally ſpeaking the Caſtellans and Staroſts are of an inferior Rank to the Palatines, there is an Exception in Favour of three of the Caſtellans and one Staroſt, who have the peculiar Privilege of honourable Places among the Secular Senators of the firſt Order. The Caſtellan of *Cracow* is firſt Senator, the ſecond and third are the Palatines of *Cracow* and *Poſnania* alternately. The reſt rank in the following Manner. The Palatines of *Vilna* and *Saudomir*, the Caſtellan of *Vilna*, the Palatines of *Kaliſch*, of *Troki* and *Siradie*, the Caſtellan of *Troki*, the Palatine of *Lencicia*, the Staroſt of *Samogitia*, the Palatines of *Brzeſcia* in *High Poland*, of *Kiow*, *Inowladiſlaw*, *Ruſſia*, *High Volhinia*, *High Podolia*, *Smolenſko*, *Lublin*, *Loſk*, *Belezi*, *Novogrodeck*, *Ploſko*, *Vitepſk*, *Mazovia*,

Mazovia, *Podlachia*, *Rava*, *Brzeſcia* in *Lithuania*, *Chelm*, *Meiſlaw*, *Marienburgh*, *Barklow*, *Pomerania*, *Minſki* and *Czernikow*. Some of theſe Palatines are only titular, their Palatinates being now under other States: *Kiow*, *Smolenſko* and *Czernikow* are of this Number. 1696.

The Caſtellans are next immediately to the Palatines, and are of two Kinds, Great and Little. The Great are Thirty two in Number, the other limited to Forty nine. Each of them is a Senator, the Palatine's Lieutenant, and chief of the Nobility in their reſpective Diſtrict. The Caſtellans.

The Ten principal Officers of the Crown are the Grand Marſhall, the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, the Treaſurer and the leſſer Marſhall of the Court; which Offices are double, the Kingdom of *Poland* and the Dutchy of *Lithuania* having each a Grand Marſhall, Chancellor, and the other great Officers of State. The ten great Officers.

The Nobility of no Country in the World have carried their Prerogative to ſuch an height. None but themſelves are qualified for Offices, or can poſſeſs Eſtates either in the Kingdom or the Dutchy. The Peaſants are all Slaves, and the Burghers, conſidered as low Artiſans, or at leaſt as Merchants, can hold only a few Houſes in the City, or a little Patch of Land within a League of it. Strangers have no better Treatment; Privileges of the *Poliſh* Nobility.

1696. whatever Nobility they can pretend, whatever Services they do the State in their Armies qualify them no farther, and are very fortunate if they riſe to the Poſt of a Colonel. It ſeldom happens that they attain to that of a Major-General, which is much the ſame as a Brigadier in the Service of *France*; the Nobility have engroſſed the ſole Power to elect their Kings, to give them Miniſters, and Senators in lieu of Council, to preſcribe their own Laws, and to grant themſelves Privileges. To them belongs the Defence of the Republick, when it appears that the King would exceed the Limitations preſcribed him in the Treaty, (called *Pacta Conventa)* which they make with him before his Coronation.

The petty Diet. When an ordinary Diet is ſufficient, the whole Nobility are not aſſembled: A multitude of Perſons of Diſtinction could not aſſiſt at it without Confuſion; nor could the largeſt City contain ſuch Numbers. At ſuch a Time the Nobility meet in their reſpective Palatinates, and there form thoſe *Leſſer particular Diets*, which chuſe Deputies for the General Diet. Thoſe Deputies, whom the *Poles* call *Nuncio*'s, have certain Powers limited by their Inſtructions, amongſt which is always expreſſed or underſtood, an Obligation to conſerve the ancient Conſtitutions of the State, and the Privileges and Liberty of the Republick.

But

But on extraordinary Affairs, that require an immediate Remedy, the whole Nobility are ſummoned, which is what they call *Poſpolite*, and has ſome Reſemblance to the antient Arrierban of the *French* Nobility. At ſuch a Time all the Gentlemen mount on Horſeback, and none but the Chancellor and Staroſts [Governors of Frontier Towns] are exempted. 1696. The *Poſpolite*.

The King has by Law the Choice of the Place, where the Diet aſſembles; but upon the Complaint of the *Lithuanians*, it was granted them, that out of three Diets, two ſhould be held at *Warſaw*, and the third at *Grodno* in their Dutchy; and from this Condeſcenſion it is now eſtabliſhed into a Cuſtom. There are two Diets for which the Law has aſſigned certain Places; that of the Election at *Vola*, a Village half a League from *Warſaw*, and the Diet of the Coronation muſt indiſpenſibly be held at *Cracow*. General Diet. Place where held.

When the particular Diets of the Palatinates have come to a Reſolution, and choſen their *Nuncio's*, the Nuncio's repair to the General Diet, which always opens with the Election of their Marſhall. He muſt be choſen alternately, either from Great or Little *Poland* or *Lithuania*, and this Election is commonly very warmly diſputed. To this Charge, which expires with the Diet, a very great Authority is annexed. It is this Marſhall impoſes Silence, and negotiates be- Method of the Diet. Choice of the Marſhall.

1696. tween the Diet, and the King and Senate: He repreſents to the Throne the Senſe of the Nobility in regard to the Redreſs of publick or private Grievances: The Court, who know the Importance of having this great Officer in their Intereſt neglect no Means to engage him, and in the Diets of Election the Pretenders to the Crown ſpare nothing that may incline him in their Favour.

As all the Courts of Juſtice act in the King's Name, their Juriſdiction is at an End, as ſoon as the Primate publiſhes his Declaration of the Interregnum: All private Affairs and Law Proceedings are then ſuſpended till the Coronation of the Succeſſor. The Juriſdiction of the Marſhals only ſubſiſts as uſual, and a ſpecial Court is erected to take Cognizance of what happens during the Election. After this Digreſſion, which its being uſeful in preventing our frequent Interruption will excuſe, I go on to the Hiſtory.

Reſolution of the Petty Diets.

In ſeveral inferior Diets warm Debates had aroſe, and they had broke up without coming to any Reſolution. At *Marienburgh* Blood had been drawn by ſome of the Nobility, who grew ſo hot as to come to Blows. Nor was that of *Warſaw* more pacifick; for the reſt, there had not been known a great while a more general Tranquillity amongſt them. In theſe it was concluded that the uſual Compliments of Condolence ſhould be made

made to the Queen, and the three Princes, 1696.
James, *Alexander*, and *Conſtantine*; that the Primate and great Generals ſhould be returned Thanks for their Care of Affairs during the Interregnum, and deſired to continue it for the publick Tranquillity; that the foreign Miniſters ſhould be obliged, according to Cuſtom, to withdraw from the Place where the Diet of Election was to meet, and the whole Royal Family included in the ſame Regulation; that all Grievances ſhould be enquired into, and new Articles added to the Capitulation, to which the Prince elect ſhould be obliged to ſwear before his Coronation; that Regard ſhould be had to the Conventions made with the late King, and to the Pretenſions of his Family; and laſtly, that the *Poſpolite* or general Aſſembly of the Nobility ſhould be ſummoned. The Nuncio's were inſtructed to uſe their Endeavours that the general Diet might terminate the Election in fifteen Days; the Nobility having engaged to unite in the ſtricteſt Manner for the Security of the Catholick Religion, the Tranquillity of the Kingdom and the Freedom of the Election.

P. *James* retires from *Warſaw*.

Prince *James* being informed of the Reſolution of the inferior Diets, did not ſtay for the Order to quit *Warſaw*, but retired, ſome Days before the Meeting of the general Diet, to a Caſtle near *Dantzick*, where he attended the Succeſs of his Parties Mea-

1696. ſures. The Queen, who pleaſed her ſelf with believing the Reſolutions of the general Diet would be more favourable than thoſe of the Inferiour had been, imagined her Preſence at *Warſaw* eſſential to her Son's Intereſt, and leaving *Zolkiew*, where the late King's Eſtate had been divided, ſhe went to *Javarow*, with Intent to proceed from thence to the Capital. The Palatine of *Ploſkow*, the Crown General, and ſeveral other Senators gave her to underſtand, that a Step of this Kind would give Offence to the Nobility, and that ſhe could not but act againſt her own Intereſt by ſuch a Contempt of Reſolutions founded upon the known Laws. The Primate, who, 'till the meeting of the Diet ſummoned for *Auguſt* 29, was gone into the Country, returned the 20, and in Conjunction with the Senators, appointed the Palatine of *Caliſch* to wait on the Queen. That Princeſs heard his Repreſentations, and notwithſtanding continued her Journey to the Capital, where ſhe arrived the 23. and took up her Lodging in her uſual Apartment in the Palace.

The Queen his Mother returns without Regard to the Remonſtrances of the Senate.

The 29th of *Auguſt*, the Day appointed for the opening of the Diet, it opened accordly with the uſual Ceremonies; the Cardinal Primate celebrating pontifically the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt. After which they went to the *Szopa*, a vaſt Barrack of Planks in the Form of an Hall, erected at the Expence of

of the Republick to ſhelter the Aſſembly from the Weather. It is called alſo *Colo*, and ſurrounded by a Ditch with three Gates to enter it. Here the Diet aſſembles. 1696.

Preliminary Diet.

According to Cuſtom it began with the Election of a Marſhal, the choice of whom was very warmly conteſted, but with leſs Surprize as it was no more than was expected. *Poland* the Leſs pretended it was their Turn to give the Diet a Marſhal, and Great *Poland* inſiſted upon the ſame Thing; but thought fit, however, to acquieſce by Way of reſerving that Right till the following Diet. They foreſaw this Meeting would not be deciſive, and that there would neceſſarily be another for the Election. *Lithuania* penetrated this Motive, and objected, that Great *Poland* had the Right of chooſing the Marſhall from their Body, and ought not to deprive them of the Direction in the following Diet. The Miſunderſtanding roſe ſo high, that the Biſhop of *Poſnania* imagining an extraordinary Method neceſſary to calming their Violence, came to the Aſſembly in his Pontifical Robes. But this Conduct was without Succeſs. There was an Air of Extravagance in it not at all agreeable to the Nuncio's; the Tumult continued, and the Aſſembly broke up without coming to any Reſolution. The two following Diets on the 30th and 31ſt had no better Succeſs.

Conteſt for the Choice of Marſhal.

1696. It was then propoſed, that the Diet ſhould be held without a Marſhal; but that did not remove the Difficulty, but transferred it to another Diet, in which had the ſame Reſolution taken Place, to prevent Feuds, whilſt the Queſtion was undecided, it was to be feared it might introduce a Cuſtom, that would deprive their Aſſemblies of a Director, always neceſſary to the Support of good Order.

Marſhal choſen. On the firſt of *September*, the Deputies of *Lithuania* put an End to this Difficulty, by declaring, they agreed that Little *Poland* ſhould this Time appoint the Marſhal. Upon which both the *Polands* made them their Compliments, and *Homieniſki*, Lieutenant Colonel of the Artillery being elected, received the Staff of Office, and was inſtalled. He thanked the Diet for their Confidence in him, expreſſed by an Inſtance of it ſo much to his Honour, which he promiſed to juſtify to the utmoſt of his Power by a Conduct, with which they ſhould have no Reaſon to be diſſatisfied.

Regulation of the Nuncio's. On the third the Nuncio's of the Palatinates put the Queſtion, whether their Body ſhould deliberate ſeparately, and independently of the Senate, or ſhould act jointly with it, for the Sake of Unanimity, and the Diſpatch of publick Buſineſs. It was next moved to examine into the Regularity of Election of the Nuncio's; but as ſuch an Enquiry

quiry muſt have been attended with many Inconveniences, of which Protraction was one of the leaſt, it was reſolved, the Nuncio's ſhould join the Senate, and that ſuch of them whoſe Right of Election ſhould be diſputed, ſhould not have actual Voices in the Diet, 'till they had given full Satisfaction in Anſwer to the Objections againſt them. 1696.

They unite with the Senate.

After which the Nuncio's in their Formalities went to the Hall of the Senate, where the Marſhal made a Speech, in which he expreſſed in the livelieſt Terms, the ſad State of the Kingdom by the King's Deceaſe; he then complimented the Primate upon the Pains he took for the publick Service, and concluded with obſerving upon the good Diſpoſition of the Nobility, to unite with their whole Power for the good of their Country.

This Diſcourſe was anſwered by the Primate, who propoſed the Points, upon which the Diet was to deliberate.

Propoſals of the Primate.

I. A Confederacy of all the Members of the Republick for it's Repoſe, Safety, and Liberty. II. The Laws and Conditions, to the Obſervance of which the future King ſhould bind himſelf, to be communicated to all who ſhould aſpire to the Crown. III. The Means to extinguiſh the Animoſities and Diviſions ſo troubleſome in the late King's Reign, and to prevent the like Diſorders for the future. IV. The Payment

1696. Payment of the Army, and an immediate Remedy for the Seditions, which began to break out in ſeveral Places. V. The Neceſſity of a Proviſion for putting the Artillery into better Condition. VI. The Advantage of a general Coin, to prevent Diſorders occaſioned by the diverſity of Species.

He exhorted the Nobility above all Things to avoid the Abuſes, that had crept into the two preceding Elections. "That "of King *Michael*, he ſaid, was tumultuous, "That of the late King by Deputies. The "ſmallneſs of the Number ought to have "occaſioned their Tranquillity; but on the "contrary, the Candidates were known to "purchaſe Voices by Profuſions, that were "a Reproach to the Nation. It is for our "Honour to ſhun ſuch Inconveniences in "the enſuing Election, and ſince we are now "to give the Republick of *Poland* an Head, "that may reſtore it's antient Splendor, "it is incumbent upon us to chooſe the "moſt deſerving Perſon we can. Remember, I conjure you, that the Crown is "given and not ſold. He then propoſed, "that the Diet of Election ſhould be re-"ferred to the following Spring," which was the ſeventh Point he recommended to the Conſideration of the Preliminary Diet. Thus this artful Prelate, under the Appearance of giving the Nation Leiſure to make an

an excellent Choice, reſerved for ſome time the ſovereign Authority in his own Hands, and deferred the Diſpoſal of a Sceptre, he was reſolved to ſell as dear as he could to the beſt Bidder of the Competitors. 1696.

Whilſt the Primate's Propoſitions were in Deliberation, advice came, that the *Tartars* had made an Irruption into the Neighbourhood of *Zolkiew*; that they had taken a great Number of Slaves, drove off abundance of Cattle, and ſet Fire to the Corn in ſuch a Manner as had entirely deſtroyed the Hopes of the Harveſt; and what was ſtill worſe, this Piece of bad News was followed by another the more ungrateful as it left the Republick no Means of revenging the Hoſtilities of the *Tartars*. The Army of the Crown had entered into a Confederacy, upon Pretence of not being paid for ſeveral Years paſt. They had choſen for their Leader, one *Bogiſlaus Baranowſki* an Huſſar in the Company of Prince *Joſeph Lubomirſki*, Under-Marſhal of the Crown. *Baranowſki* was not of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Extraction: an Archbiſhop of *Gneſna* of that Name was the firſt who ennobled the Family. His Audacity was the ſole Occaſion of their caſting their Eyes on him. He was choſen unanimouſly Chief, or Marſhal of their Confederacy. He was not rich: He began with raiſing Contributions, and afterwards ſent Deputies to the Diet

Confederacy of the Crown Army.

Baranowſki choſen chief of the Confederacy.

1696. Diet to demand the Arrears due to the Army.

Tho' this Confederacy differed very little from a Revolt, the Diet did not fail to give Audience to the Deputies: But they talked in ſuch Terms as gave Reaſon to ſuggeſt, that *Baranowſki* was conſcious of being well ſupported. Thoſe to whom the Revolt might be uſeful were ſuſpected. It was next moved that the Queen ſhould be deſired to retire from *Warſaw*, for by Law, as has been already obſerved, the Candidates and their Relations are to be abſent during the meeting of the Diet. The Primate again repreſented to that Princeſs the Injury, ſhe would do her Family by continuing there, but without Effect. The Queen did not think fit to give into that Prelate's Reaſons; which obliged the Diet to conſider further upon the Occaſion. The Marſhal harangued the Aſſembly upon it; but tho' what he advanced againſt the Intereſt of that Princeſs was at a Diſtance, and indirectly, the Primate thought fit to interrupt him.

The Queen deſired to retire from *Warſaw*.

It is againſt the Law to interrupt the Perſon who ſpeaks in the Diet. The Marſhal demanded Satisfaction for the Injury he inſinuated was done the whole Nobility in his Perſon, and was ſeconded by the Nuncio's. As they deſired the Queen's Removal, all of them almoſt went out of the Aſſembly.

Diſturbance in the Diet.

Aſſembly. The Majority of the Senate followed their Example, and even threatened to retire abſolutely. The Difference continued four Days, and could only be appeaſed by the Queen's retiring. On the 19th ſhe left *Warſaw*. The two youngeſt Princes withdrew at the ſame Time with Prince *James* before the opening of the Diet. 1696.

The Queen retires from *Warſaw*.

The Affairs of the Republick were however more and more perplexed. The confederate Army levyed great Contributions upon the Lands of the late King, as well as upon thoſe of the Clergy and Nobility. On the other Hand the Preparations of the *Turks* and *Tartars* kept them in perpetual Alarm. Nor was *Muſcovy* without Views of improving the Opportunity, which their Difficulties made ſo favourable, and ſeemed inclined to break with *Poland*. The Reſident delivered in a Letter to the Senate, in which the Czar demanded, that the King to be elected and the Republick ſhould perform all Alliances made with *Ruſſia*, and that the King ſhould not continue to take any Titles from the Provinces of *Smolenſko*, *Kiow*, and *Czernikow*, becauſe, added he, thoſe Provinces had been given up to *Muſcovy* by ancient Treaties. Upon the whole the Czar's Demands did not give the Republick much Pain. He was too much embarraſſed with the *Turks* and *Tartars* to

Perplexity of Affairs of the Republick.

Surprizing Demands of the Czar.

1696. undertake any Thing againſt *Poland.* So that the Senate made no Scruple to return for Anſwer, that when the King ſhould be elected, he might conſult with the Republick, whether it was more expedient to ſatisfy the Czar's Demands, or to regain by Force of Arms the Provinces, of which that Prince had poſſeſſed himſelf.

Anſwer of the Senate.

Menaces of *Baranowſki.*

The confederate Army gave the Republick much greater Trouble than the Czar's Demands. *Baranowſki*'s Deputies inſiſted upon ten Years Arrears for thirty thouſand Men, and threaten'd Military Execution if not immediately ſatisfied. It was univerſally admitted, that the Army ought to be paid, but no Body would contribute to the Money. There was no having Recourſe to the publick Treaſure, that was exhauſted by the Practices of thoſe, who had been in the Management of the Revenue. In this Emergency ſome People, who did not reliſh the preceding Reign, propoſed that Recourſe ſhould be had to the Sums amaſſed by the late King. They urged, that as thoſe Treaſures had been collected from the State, it was highly conſiſtent they ſhould be applied to it's Occaſions. In Vain did the Queen's Friends endeavour to ward this Blow by oppoſing the Motion, and the Diet were juſt upon coming to a Reſolution ſo contrary to the Royal Family's Intereſt, when *Horodenſki*, Nuncio from the Palatinate

nate of *Czernikow*, quitted the Aſſembly and proteſted againſt all it's proceedings. 1696.

Horodenſki quits and diſſolves the Diet.

Such a Proteſt ſufficed to break up a Diet. It was neceſſary to have Recourſe to the Methods uſual upon ſuch Occaſions. The Senate came to a Reſolution, to which the Nuncio's gave their Conſent, that an Act to confederate the whole Nobility for the Conſervation of the Religion, Rights and Liberties of the Republick and eſpecially for the freedom of the Election ſhould be prepared. The only Objections that aroſe, were in Regard to the Time or the Manner of the Election; but it was at laſt reſolved it ſhould be in open Field *May* 15, 1687, and that all the Nobility ſhould be ſummoned to appear on Horſeback, conformably to the Election of King *Michael*. It was further added, that ſuch as ſhould propoſe to place a *Pole* upon the Throne, ſhould be declared Enemies of their Country. This Act was ſigned the firſt of *October* by the Primate, and the Biſhop of *Poſnania*, and the next Day by the greateſt Part of the Nuncio's.

Confederacy of the Nobility.

The fear of Violence had induced *Horodenſki* to abſcond, after he had broke up the Diet. His Retreat was to *Baranowſki*, from whom he deſired a Detachment of ſix thouſand Troops, upon the Aſſurance of his confederating the *Lithuanian* Nobility. *Baranowſki* who had attempted the ſame Thing without Succeſs, and was beſides no

Horodenſki joins *Baranowſki*.

1696. Way diſpoſed to aſſociate a Perſon, with whom ſhe ſhould have been obliged to divide the Profits of the Command, gave no Ear to this Propoſal. He treated *Horodenſki* as a Deſerter from his Party, happy in his Protection, whom he only ſuffered as he had broke up the Diet, and by that Means favoured the Confederacy of the Army.

The Manner of his Reception.

Motives for the *Lithuanians* not joining *Baranowſki*.

Tho' the *Lithuanian* Nobility had refuſed to join their Troops with thoſe of *Baranowſki*, they were not averſe to a Confederacy. Their Refuſal proceeded from their deſiring a Leader, more illuſtrious, more able, and more experienced at the Head of them. In effect after the Diſſolution of the Diet, the greateſt Part of the Gentlemen of that Dutchy entered into a Confederacy. Their Pretence was the Violation of their Privileges and the eccleſiaſtical Immunities. The Treaſury of that Province was as much exhauſted as that of the Crown. *John Caſimir Sapieha*, Palatine of *Wilna*, and great General of the Dutchy, could not oblige an Army without Pay to obſerve exact Diſcipline. Neceſſity reduced him to quarter his Troops upon the Lands of the Clergy and Nobility.

Beginning of the Troubles of *Lithuania*.

From the Time of *Sobieſki* a like proceeding of that General's had, as we obſerve before, given Birth to great Commotions. *Conſtantine Bezeſtowſki*, Biſhop of *Wilna*, premier Prelate and Senator of *Lithuania*, thought

thought it his Duty to defend his Immunities, and oppoſe the Impoſition of Troops he had threatened; and finding his Menaces without Effect, had recourſe to Excommunication, which however had been taken off by the Primate, in Quality of Hereditary Legate of the *Holy See*. 1696.

New Troubles

The Neceſſities of the Army improving in the Interregnum, the General, already highly offended at the Cenſures thundered out againſt him, threw off all Reſerve. He quartered Troops over the whole Biſhoprick of *Wilna* and its Dependances; nor had the Biſhop's Friends better Treatment. But by this Behaviour he ſtrengthened without obſerving it, the Party of his Adverſary, and experienced in the Conſequence, that it is often dangerous to take all the Advantages, which Credit and Authority can ſupply. Every one making the Evil his own Caſe, imputed that to the Badneſs of the General's Inclinations which in Propriety could be only attributed to the Unhappineſs of the Times.

Confederacy of the *Lithuanian* Army.

The Biſhop of *Wilna* was at *Rome*, when the Troops of the Dutchy began again the Deſolation of his Dioceſe. His Friends took his Intereſts upon themſelves, not without Regard to their own, which were become common. *George Oginſki*, great Standard-Bearer of the Dutchy, uſed all his Endeavours to confederate the Army of *Lithu-*

1696. *ania.* He found Means to corrupt a Part of it, and placed himſelf at the Head of the Confederacy, which ſoon formed a Body of four thouſand Men and upwards. He was ſoon after joined by the Nobility of *Samogitia*, and thoſe of the Palatinates of *Novogrod*, *Witepſki*, and *Brzeſcia*, and then entered upon the Lands of the Grand General and his Friends, committing great Diſorders.

The Queen favours the Confederacy of *Lithuania*. *Abbe Polignac* ſuſpected to favour it.

Some People pretend the Queen's Money contributed not a little to this Confederacy. Others however looked upon the Cardinal *Polignac* as the principal Author of it; theſe add, that by conſiderable Preſents he had brought over *Oginſki*, and ſeveral of the principal Lords, in order to engage them in a Party he projected to form for a Prince of the Blood of *France*, who was to be a Candidate. However it was, the grand General of *Lithuania* drew up his Troops againſt the Revolters, and to ſurprize the Enemy before they had Time to look about them, he began his march, with Deſign to attack them in their Trenches.

Sapieha attacks the Confederacy of *Lithuania*.

At the General's Approach, *Oginſki* retreated with his Troops to *Brzeſcia*. *Sapieha* followed, attacked him in *November*, and had at firſt ſome Advantage, but was repulſed in the End. Nor was he more ſucceſsful in his ſecond Attempt, to force *Oginſki*'s Trenches. If the Attack was made with

with Vigour, the Defence was not without Courage. The Loſs hitherto was almoſt equal on both Sides, ſo that Party more fatigued with their own, than relieved by the Sufferings of their Enemy, gave into the firſt Propoſals of Accommodation that offered. 1696.

The *Abbe Polignac* contrived this Accommodation. Apprehenſive, that the Diviſion of *Lithuania* might prove an Obſtacle to the Deſigns he had formed, and ſtill kept ſecret, that Miniſter engaged the under Marſhal of *Lithuania*, Son of the grand Marſhal, and particular Friend of *Oginſki*, to negotiate the Accommodation. He went further: He promiſed to defray the neceſſary Expences, upon Condition both Parties ſhould, by a Secret Article, unite in Favour of the Candidate he had to propoſe. This Negotiation had all the Succeſs expected from it. The grand Marſhal and Standard-Bearer came to an Agreement the 26th of *November* upon theſe Conditions; That *Oginſki*, and the Confederates ſhould return to their Duty; That the grand General ſhould grant a general Pardon; That he ſhould engage that the Republick ſhould pay off half their Arrears; and that they ſhould have the ſame Quarters with the Troops, who had continued in Obedience. The Day following the General of the Confederates took the Oath of

Accommodation concerted.

Conditions of the Treaty.

1696. Fidelity to the grand General, who order'd publick Thankſgiving upon the Occaſion.

The Biſhop of *Samogitia* was comprized in this Treaty, but no mention was made in it of the Biſhop and Chapter of *Wilna*. The Difficulty of reconciling their Pretenſions with thoſe of the grand General, was the principal Occaſion of their not being included. *Oginſki* too was under the Neceſſity of haſtening the Accommodation. The Palatine of *Wilna*'s Scouts had taken a Packet upon a Courier, diſpatched by the Palatine of *Witepſk*, with Letters to the Queen. In it was diſcovered, that *Oginſki* had been gained by that Princeſs's Money, and that all he had done was to ſupport Prince *James*'s Intereſt. A Diſcovery of this Kind would have determined the firmeſt of his Adherents to have renounced him. He had the Prudence to put an End to an Affair upon the Point of turning to his Confuſion.

Oginſki's Motives for Accommodation.

Violence of the *Poliſh* Confederates.

Whilſt the Confederates of *Lithuania* were making an End of their Differences, thoſe of *Poland* were doing as much Miſchief upon the Lands of the Republick as an Army of *Turks* or *Tartars*. They had exacted thirty two thouſand *Florins*, Contribution from the City of *Leopold*; the *Jews* had been obliged to pay fourteen thouſand, to be exempted from quartering Troops: The City of *Zolkiew* and its Dependances,

pendances, Part of the late King's Eſtate, had no better Conditions. An hundred thouſand *Florins* were demanded of them, and Military Execution threatened in Caſe of Refuſal. 1696.

Theſe Diſorders encreaſing daily obliged the Senate to conſult Expedients for putting a Stop to them. A Conference was agreed upon at a League's diſtance from *Leopold*, between the Commiſſaries of the Republick and the Deputies of the Army, at which the grand and under Generals of *Poland* would have aſſiſted in Perſon. But the Deputies of the Army refuſed to admit them, declaring they had nothing to tranſact with the Crown-Generals. *Baranowſki* who apprehended nothing ſo much as the Republick's Compliance with the Terms he had demanded, found Means to raiſe new Difficulties. His Deputies inſiſted that the Funds appropriated for the Payment of the Troops, even of thoſe not in the Confederacy, ſhould be left to his Diſpoſal, with Power to levy the Payment either by fair or foul Means; that they ſhould have the Choice of their Quarters where they thought fit; and that they were finally determined not to ſeparate, 'till the Election was over.

Conferences to prevent thoſe Diſorders.

Exorbitant Demands of the Confederates.

Upon the Commiſſaries of the Republick's refuſing to comply with ſuch exhorbitant Demands, *Baranowſki* ſent Detachments

Hoſtilities begun.

1696. from his Army that committed Acts of Hoſtility in ſeveral Places, and even in the Territory of *Warſaw* it ſelf. Poliſh *Pruſſia*, remote as it was, did not eſcape thoſe Inſults. Twelve Companies were order'd to march into it by the Chief of the Confederates, who did that Country no ſmall Miſchief. The Reſolution of the Nobility of Great *Poland* prevented their ſuffering the ſame Treatment. They gave the Rebels to underſtand that if they advanced towards their Country they would give them the meeting at leaſt half Way: *Baranowſki* whoſe Deſign was to plunder without expoſing himſelf, did not think convenient to drive People to Extremities, who appeared ſo determinate. He thought it more adviſeable to throw himſelf into other Provinces, where he ſhould not hazard ſuch Oppoſition. Thus did an Army, intended for the Defence of the Kingdom commit the greateſt Diſorders, and quarter themſelves at Diſcretion upon it.

Incurſion of the *Turks* and *Tartars*.

The *Turks* and *Tartars* did not fail from Time to Time to take their Advantage of theſe Diviſions. Before the Conferences ſpoken of above, they had advanced with fifty thouſand Men within eight Leagues of *Leopold*, plundering whatever had eſcaped the Rebels. Some Troops, who had continued faithful to the Republick, endeavoured to ſtop the Progreſs of thoſe Barbarians.

Several

Several of them they took Priſoners, who declared their entering *Poland* was at the Inſtigation of ſome of the Nobility, who intended by that Means to oblige the Republick to haſten the Election of the King. This gave Occaſion for different Surmiſes; tho' it was generally believed, the Incurſion of the *Turks* and *Tartars* upon the Lands of *Poland*, and the *Lithuanian* Confederacy had one and the ſame Principle. 1696.

During the ſame Conferences they were threatened with another Irruption, and Advice came, that the ſame Perſons who had called in the Infidels before, ſollicited their Return into the Kingdom. And what was ſtill worſe, the Republick, for want of Money, was in no Condition to remedy thoſe Evils. The Miniſter of *France*, under the Pretext of his Maſter's Friendſhip for the Republick, offered to dedicate an hundred thouſand Florins, to remove the *Turks* and *Tartars* from the Frontiers during the Interregnum. The greateſt Part of the Senate looked upon this Offer as a Generoſity, worthy the Acknowledgment of the Republick; but ſome of them were of a different Opinion, and diſcovered more of Intereſt than Generoſity in it. The *Caſtellan* of *Cracow* was the foremoſt to depreciate ſuch a Propoſal from an Embaſſador, who had declared a Candidate, and formed a Faction in his Favour.

Poland threatened with another Irruption.

Offers of the *French* Embaſſador.

They are rejected.

1696. To enter into the Motives of the *French* Miniſter, we ought to underſtand, that ſince the Interregnum, the *Abbe Polignac* intent upon all that paſſed, had obſerved the Queen's unſteady Motions, who ſometimes endeavoured to have one of her youngeſt Sons elected, and ſometimes acted in Favour of Prince *James*. He had remarked the Impoſſibility of bringing the Election of one of the youngeſt Princes to bear, and the Averſion of the greateſt Part of the *Poliſh* Nobility to Prince *James*. From all which he concluded, that none of the Children of *Sobieſki* would be placed upon the Throne. He had communicated theſe Thoughts to the Court of *France*, inſinuating at the ſame Time, that if the Prince of *Conti* were propoſed, there would be no Difficulty to form a powerful Faction in his Favour.

Motives of his Conduct.

He intends to ſet up a *French* Prince.

The Courts Inſtructions had been conformable to a Project, from whence they had Reaſon to entertain no ſmall Hopes. The *Abbe Polignac*, who wanted no Capacity to tranſact an Affair of ſuch Conſequence, ſpared no Pains in it; he began to talk publickly of a Candidate he had to propoſe, but without naming whom. It was his Intention firſt to remove the Difficulties, that might thwart his Election. He declared, that he ſhould not be concerned either for Prince *James* or his Brothers; a Circumſtance of great Delight to many People. Some of the *Poliſh* Lords

France approves his Project.

His Addreſs in removing Difficulties.

Lords, who had Ambition enough to aſpire to the Crown, were then for treating with him: But he repreſented that ſuch Pretenſions muſt be deſtructive to them, as well from the Number of the Candidates, as becauſe thoſe, who ſhould be excluded, would not eaſily acquieſce in the Preference of a Perſon to whom they might believe themſelves equal both in Blood and Merit. 1696.

When that Miniſter conceived he had given the *Poliſh* Lords a ſufficient Diſguſt for the Throne, he aſked them where they could find a Prince capable of ſupporting the Reputation of a Kingdom, as renowned for Valour, as for the Liberty it had ſo long maintained. He ſhewed how vain it was to look for ſuch an one in *Sweden*, *Denmark* or *England*, Nations from whence the *Roman Catholick* Religion was baniſhed; and that he was leſs to be found in *Germany* in the Houſe of *Auſtria*, unleſs they would expoſe themſelves to the Loſs of their Liberty, as the Examples of *Bohemia* and *Hungary* might ſufficiently inform them. He went on to *Italy* and *France*, and as moſt of the Lords to whom he addreſſed himſelf had travelled in thoſe Countries, it was not difficult to make them agree, that the long Tranquillity of *Italy* made that no proper Place, from whence to chooſe ſuch a Prince, as *Poland* required for the Defence of its Frontiers, Queſtions he propoſes.

1696. Frontiers, againſt the warlike and barbarous Nations that ſurround it.

He declares his Candidate.

France only could ſupply what it was in vain to enquire after in other Nations. This raiſed a Curioſity to know who the *French* Hero was whom the Embaſſador intended to propoſe. It is the Prince of *Conti*, ſaid that able Miniſter, by his Birth and Virtues equally worthy the Crown. This Prince was the laſt of the Blood Royal, and there were Ten in the Kingdom, who by natural Right might expect to mount the Throne before him. This left *Poland* no Reaſon to apprehend he would ever quit it, as King *Henry* had done after the Death of *Charles* the IX. his Brother.

The Prince of *Conti* propoſed.

Effect of the Propoſal.

At the Mention of this Candidate each Party had different Sentiments, which they were not afraid to expreſs: Thoſe who perſevered for Prince *James* were in a Conſternation: The *Partiſans* of the Houſe of *Auſtria* were in Pain: The *Abbe Polignac*'s Faction expreſſed their Joy, and made known the Hopes they conceived; and thoſe who had not yet taken Party, ſeemed in amaze, when they heard a Prince propoſed, whoſe Reputation ſeemed to promiſe *Poland* the Recovery of the Provinces loſt in preceding Reigns.

The Imperial Miniſters endeavour to ward the Blow.

The Imperial Miniſters ſtrove all they could to embroil the Affair. They repreſented the univerſal Alarm of *Europe*, when

when the Houſe of *Auſtria* was in Poſſeſſion of the *Empire* and *Spain*, and from thence inferred, that Umbrage ought to be taken from the Ambition of *France*; that inſtead of favouring the Election of a Prince of that Nation, it was the Intereſt of all States to oppoſe it; that ſince the Treaty of *Auſburgh*, in which ſo many Powers had allied, was not ſufficient to put a Stop to the Rapidity of *Lewis* the fourteenth's Conqueſts, it was no longer a Doubt, if the *Poles* ſhould elect a *French* Prince, that all Europe would be in a Condition of Slavery, from which no Power would ever be able to extricate it. 1696.

On the other Hand the *Abbe Polignac*, in Conferences, private Converſations, and at Table, neglected nothing to obviate thoſe Apprehenſions. He obſerved that *Poland* had nothing to fear from a Nation ſo remote; that the *Poles* were beſides too brave for any Nation to undertake that againſt them, which the *Romans* themſelves were afraid to venture; that the *French*, far from diſtreſſing their Allies, made it a Duty to ſupport them; that *Sweden* was a modern inſtance of that Temper, and that its Alliance with *France* ought to be remembred with Gratitude, as long as that Kingdom ſhould poſſeſs the Provinces *France* had cauſed to be reſtored to it by the laſt Peace.

The *Abbe Polignac* oppoſes the Arguments of the Court of *Vienna*.

This

1696. Oppoſition he meets with.

This Diſcourſe of the *Abbe*'s made Impreſſion upon many, but did not convince all the World. He had wrote to the Biſhop of *Cujavia* to engage him in the Prince of *Conti*'s Intereſt, from whom he received an Anſwer no Way favourable to his Expectations. It was in Effect, that all the Meaſures taken in favour of that Prince's Election, would be to no Purpoſe; that the Republick did not affect the *French* Nation; and what confirmed their Suſpicions of a *French* Prince, was the Queen *Dowager*'s Conduct, who was a *French* Woman, and had rendered herſelf odious to the Publick. He added that nevertheleſs for his Part he thought the Prince highly worthy the Throne upon Account of his extraordinary Merits.

Anſwer to theſe Objections.

The *Abbe Polignac* was not long without replying. He took Pains to remove the Biſhop of *Cujavia*'s Scruples. What is it, ſays he, that *Poland* wants in this Election? Is it not a great Prince, good, wiſe, warlike, magnanimous, liberal, modeſt, and affable, one whoſe high Qualities may reſtore the republick to its antient Luſtre and Happineſs. He then anſwered to the Difficulties objected by that Prelate. The Apprehenſion the *Poles* are under, continued he, of taking a King from *France*, is one of thoſe vulgar Errors the Wiſe do not regard. If Queen *Mary* has done any Thing to give the Nation Reaſon to deſire that neither herſelf nor her

Sons

Sons ſhould reign. The Prince of *Conti* is not her Son. They are indeed of one Nation, but do all the Deſcendants of the ſame Nation reſemble each other in their Manners? Are the *Poles* ſo like one another? The Kings *Michael* and *John* were of the ſame Country, but what a Difference was there between the one and the other. 1696.

The Miniſter of *France*'s Zeal for his Candidate did not ſtop at theſe Tranſactions with the *Poliſh* Grandees. He took his Meaſures ſo well, that in all the petty Diets of the Provinces Prince *James* was excluded. This was a new Motive for the Queen's Reſentment againſt *France*; but her Enmity to that Nation, and its Embaſſadour, ſerved only to augment the *Partiſans* of the Prince of *Conti*. Her Anger run ſo high as to make her order her Picture to be taken down from the Palace of that Miniſter. So ſtrong an Inſtance of her Diſpleaſure convinced a great Number of the *Poles*, who were before apprehenſive of ſome Intelligence between that Princeſs and the *French* Miniſter, and that the Faction formed in Appearance in Favour of the Prince of *Conti* was only Addreſs to aſſure Prince *James*'s Succeſs. But when this Behaviour of the Queen's had undeceived them, they came more readily into the Meaſures of the *French* Prince.

Succeſs of his Meaſures in the petty Diets.

Queen's Reſentment to that Miniſter.

The

1696. The Excluſion of the Queen's Sons, was not the only Thing, that enraged that Princeſs againſt the *Abbe Polignac*. She could not forgive his having deprived her of two Millions, and weakened her Son's Party to ſtrengthen that of the Competitor moſt to be apprehended. But for the right Underſtanding this Fact it is neceſſary to go back a little.

Reaſons of her Anſwer.

Salutary Counſel given that Princeſs.

The Treaſures of the late King of *Poland* were depoſited in the Caſtles of *Warſaw*, *Marienburgh* and *Zolkiew*; the Queen's beſt Friends had adviſed her to put her own, and the Seal of the Republick upon them, without declaring their Amount, for they were believed far more conſiderable than they really were. They propoſed after that, that ſhe ſhould offer them as a Preſent to the Republick. By which Act of Generoſity, that Princeſs would have engaged the Army and the Republick in her Intereſts. Her Pain to deprive herſelf of a Treaſure ſhe had taken ſo much Trouble in collecting, prevented her hearkening to the moſt judicious, and ſalutary Advice that could be given. The Method ſhe took was to conſult the Embaſſador of *France*, and to beg his Endeavours for the Prince Royal. Whether that Miniſter perceived the Queen would never Sacrifice her Money, or was before reſolved to ſet up the Prince of *Conti*, or diſcouraged by the Obſtacles he foreſaw, he declared plainly

She conſults the Embaſſador of *France*

plainly that he could not act for a Prince who had made himſelf the Object of his Maſter's Diſpleaſure, and whoſe Election would be oppoſed in ſuch a Manner, as left no Proſpect of its Succeſs. 1696.

What gives Reaſon to believe the *Abbe Polignac* had Thoughts at that Time of propoſing the Prince of *Conti*, was the unlucky Counſel he gave the Queen, to apply all her Money in the Purchaſe of Crown Annuities in *France*. He demonſtrated her Security in ſuch an Application of it, and ſoothed her with the Intereſt ſhe would make in Conſequence. Unfortunately for her, that Princeſs ſuffered her ſelf to be caught by his Aſſurances. She conſented to take a Step, which naturally tended to overthrow all the Endeavours of her Son's Faction, and at the ſame Time it weakened his Party, was an additional Strength to that of his Competitor. In putting her Money thus out of her own Hands, ſhe not only deprived herſelf of the only Recourſe ſhe had to ſupport her Son's Intereſt, but that very Money, which might have been ſucceſsfully applyed againſt *France* became by this Uſe of it a Supply of Force to that Crown. His bad Advice.

Reflections of this Kind could not fail to incenſe a Princeſs, who believed herſelf made a Tool, and who daily experienced new Subjects of Mortification. She flew out violently againſt the Embaſſador, and looked She flies out againſt him.

upon

1696. upon him ever after as the Inſtrument of her Family's downfall. In Vain did that Miniſter write to her in Vindication of himſelf; her Manner of anſwering made it plain, that ſhe was ſatisfied in nothing ſo little as his Excuſes. Thoſe Letters cleared up abundance of Circumſtances 'till then myſterious. By them it appeared, that the Intereſts of the Queen, and thoſe of Prince *James* had at firſt been widely different; that the Mother was not for raiſing the eldeſt Son to the Throne, but Prince *Alexander*; that their Miſunderſtanding having ceaſed, thro' the Difficulties ſhe had met with in her Deſign, the Queen had chang'd her Meaſures in Favour of the Prince Royal; and that to prevent the Ombrage the Preſence of the two younger Princes might give Prince *James*, ſhe had ſent them both into *France* with her Money.

Excluſion of Prince *James* and his Brothers.

What compleated the Diſtreſs of that Princeſs, was the Reſolution the Petty Diets had made, to exclude all thoſe who had either been accuſed, or convicted of being the Authors of the Diſorders, which had happen'd during the *Interregnum*. This Storm fell almoſt univerſally upon Prince *James* and his Brothers. *Pruſſia* was the firſt to give them that fatal Stroke: It deſcribed them ſo well without naming who they were, that it was next to impoſſible to miſtake the Perſons intended. *Volhinia*, *Ruſſia*,

Ruſſia, the *Palatinates* of *Lubliu*, *Ploſko*, *Wilna*, *Novogrod*, &c. concurred in the Excluſion. The Unanimity of Provinces, ſo remote from each other, was a Matter of Surpriſe. The Prince was at a Loſs to comprehend the Reaſons of ſo extreme a Coldneſs for his Intereſts. To ſound in Perſon the Sentiments of the Nobility about *Warſaw*, he went in Diſguiſe to *Czerſko*, the firſt Diſtrict of *Mazovia*, where a petty Diet was then held. But he had Reaſon to repent his Curioſity. He was known and followed by ſeveral Gentlemen, *Sabre* in Hand, who would have made it a very bad Buſineſs for him, if they could have come up with him. 1697. Danger he was in.

The Excluſion of the Queen's three Sons was followed by that of the Princes of *Germany*. The Enemies of *France* were for ſerving the Prince of *Conti* in the ſame Manner; but attempted it in Vain. To be revenged, they publiſhed ſatyrical Writings: The Biſhop of *Cujavia* amongſt others ſent circular Letters to all the Nobility, in which he laboured to deſtroy the Impreſſions in Favour of the *French* Candidate's Virtues: In ſome Palatinates they were rejected; others refuſed to read them. At the Petty Diet of *Stroda*, a Gentleman aſked for the Biſhop of *Cujavia*'s Letter, which he applied in a Manner good Manners will not permit to repeat. The Nobility of *Ruſſia* Excluſion of the Prince of *Conti*'s Attempt.

1697. assembled at *Visnia* treated the Affair more seriously; they order'd that Letter to be burned by the Hands of the common Hangman.

Stratagem of the Enemies of *France.*

The little Success of this Attempt did not discourage either the Queen, the Court of *Vienna*, or the Enemies of *France*. They sought for Remedies elsewhere, which were no longer to be found in Negotiation. They had Recourse to a Stratagem, which had not however the Success they expected from it. By their Orders Letters were sent to the Court of *France*, which treated the *Abbe Polignac*'s Hopes as *Chimeras*. That Minister, they said, had suffered himself to be deceived by the Royal Family's Enemies, that notwithstanding his Promises and Profusions, the *Poles* would never elect a Stranger who would draw the Arms of their Neighbours upon them, in Prejudice to the Sons of their late King. It was expected the Court of *France* would grow cool upon such Intelligence, but it was not to be so amused. The Fear however of hazarding new Expences rashly occasioned, for better Security, the Resolution of sending to *Poland* a Person to be depended on, who might either confirm the Imputations against the Embassador, or justify his Conduct.

1697 The *Abbe Chateauneuf* Envoy in *Poland.*

The *Abbe Chateauneuf* was charged with this Commission, to which was annexed the Title of Envoy Extraordinary. He left *Paris*

ris, ſecretly in *February* 1697. in Company with the Count *Towanſki*, the Cardinal Primate's Nephew, who had been ſent into *France* the *July* before, to notify the Death of the King of *Poland*. The *Abbe Chateauneuf* arrived at *Warſaw* in *April*. He there diſcovered the Fraud of the oppoſite Party, and learnt in Perſon, that almoſt all the Grandees, and the whole Nobility were in the Prince of *Conti*'s Intereſt, and that only two Things were wanting, that Prince's Preſence, and the Money promiſed. 1697.

The ſame Day that Envoy arrived at the Capital, the Queen had left it, by Order of the Palatinates, who had come to a Reſolution to deſire her to retire, for the greater Liberty of the Councils to be held there, and of the Diet preliminary to the Election. The Cardinal Primate was charged with that Compliment, which he ſoftened to the utmoſt of his Power. He told her that for his Part, he ſhould have been very glad ſhe ſhould have been permitted to continue at *Warſaw*; that the Ties of Blood, and his Attachment to the Royal Family and its Intereſt, could admit his having no other Sentiments, but that he was obliged by his Office and the expreſs Order of the Palatinates to let her know; it was their Deſire ſhe ſhould remove, and that they abſolutely would not enter upon Buſineſs, 'till ſhe had left the Place. That Princeſs, after having

The Queen obliged to quit *Warſaw*.

1697. ving complained with Tears in her Eyes of the Severity of ſuch Treatment, promiſed to retire, as ſoon as the Primate ſhould fix the Day for the Aſſembly. On the 10th of *April* ſhe withdrew, and on the 30th came to *Dantzick*, with Cardinal *Arquien* her Father.

The Intereſts of her Family on a bad Foot.

This rigorous Treatment of the Queen ſufficiently explained, that her Family's Intereſts were upon a very bad Foot. From that Time Prince *James*'s Parties made no Manner of Figure. His *Partiſans*, and thoſe of the Houſe of *Auſtria* had no other Thoughts, than of giving the Overthrow to the Prince of *Conti*'s Faction. They would have been ſatisfied with the Excluſion of that Prince, without much Pain about him who ſhould be elected, provided he was not *French*. The Queen only was ſtill paſſionate to ſee one of her Sons upon the Throne; but convinced at laſt of the Impoſſibility of Succeſs, ſhe came voluntarily into the ſame Meaſures.

The Prince of *Newburgh* propoſed for Form Sake.

To effect the Prince's Excluſion was now the common Bent, and ſeveral Candidates were ſucceſſively propoſed. The firſt was Prince *Charles* of *Newburgh*; him they propoſed for Form Sake only, 'till another ſhould take his Place, and furniſh the Sums, neither in his Will nor his Power to diſtribute. He remembred how dear the two laſt Elections had coſt his Family; a ſufficient

Leſſon to him againſt engaging on the ſame Bottom. 1697.

Leopold, Duke of *Lorrain* was alſo put up. He was at that Time perhaps leſs able than the Prince of *Newburgh*, to advance the Money, requiſite for the Payment of the Army, and other Expences. Nor could he rely much upon the *Poliſh* Nation. Who refuſed to pay his Mother's Dowry. That Princeſs *Eleonora Maria* of *Auſtria*, Widow of King *Michael*, *Sobieſki*'s Predeceſſor, was married the ſecond Time to *Charles* IV. Duke of *Lorrain*. The Family of *Patz*, which had ſupported that Duke's Intereſt at the laſt Election, were no longer in Credit. The Survivors of it were young, and in no Employment. Beſides there was little Reaſon to believe, a Crown would be given to the Son, which had been refuſed to the Father. It was reported, that the Crown was offered to the Elector of *Bavaria*, and that he refuſed it by the Advice of the Emperor, and the reſt of the Allies, who gave him to underſtand, it was only a Stratagem of the *French* Court, to draw him out of the *Netherlands*, and in Conſequence to remove their ſtrongeſt Support againſt the Enterprizes of *France*. But had the Elector of *Bavaria* ſo much Intereſt in the *Netherlands*, as could induce him to refuſe a Crown, meerly in Apprehenſion of *France*'s making that Conqueſt? Or would his being King of

The D. of *Lorrain* ſet up.

Doubt upon the Offers made the D. of *Bavaria*.

1697. *Poland* have prevented his taking proper Meaſures, for the Defence of thoſe Countries?

Livio Odeſcalchi recommended by the Emperor.

All the World was ſurprized to hear *Don Livio Odeſcalchi*, Pope *Innocent* the Eleventh's Nephew, mentioned as a Candidate. The Emperor recommended him by Way of diſcharging by the Nephew his Obligations to the Uncle. It is well known how favourable *Innocent* XI. had been to the Emperor *Leopold*, and how oppoſite to *Lewis* XIV. King of *France*. *Odeſcalchi* offered to regale the Republick with twenty Millions of *Poliſh* Livres, ſome ſay thirty. He further engaged to continue unmarried if it ſhould not be judged proper for him to have Iſſue. The *Italian* Candidate, tho' laughed at, had the Vanity to ſend the *Abbe Monte-Catini*, Conſiſtorial Advocate, unto *Poland* to negotiate his Election. The *Poles* who did not apprehend *Odeſcalchi*'s Head intended for a Crown, aſked one another, whether *Don Livio* had any Law-Suit depending in *Poland*, and if he had not ſent his *Roman* Lawyer to ſollicite for him. New Ridicule roſe every Day, and Paſquinades were diſperſed, and Things ſo carried, that the *Italian* Envoy was aſhamed to appear any more, and thought it adviſable to return to *Rome*, after which they heard no further of *Odeſcalchi*.

The Manner of receiving that Recommendation.

Prince

Prince *Alexander*, ſecond Son of the late King, was again talked of, but he was not of the Age preſcribed by Law, and beſides his Faction was of little Credit. 1697. P. *Alexander* propoſed.

The Prince of *Baden*, had better Hopes. His great Actions ſpoke in his Favour. He had ſignalized his Valour in *Tranſilvania*, and *Hungary*. It was agreed, that *Poland* could difficultly make a better Choice. A King accuſtomed to conquer the *Turks*, and capable of making an End of what *Sobieſki* had left imperfect, could not but be a great Advantage to them. Beſides which he was ſupported by the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who offered to defray all the Expences, neceſſary to the Succeſs of the Election, having Reaſon to expect his Amends, from the Meaſures before concerted with that Prince; who, as it was pretended, had agreed to give up *Pruſſia* Royal to him. But it was to be feared, that after the Election, the Elector would not perform his Promiſes, and that the Prince, tho' Captain great enough in the Command of Armies, was not rich enough to pay them. P. of *Baden*'s Hopes of being elected.

Every Thing inclined to favour the Prince of *Conti*, when one of the *Poliſh* Senators preſented a new Candidate. *John Przependowſki*, ſo that Senator was called, was *Caſtellan* of *Culm*, a Man of Wit, and Intriegue, who had his Fortune to make. At firſt he ſeemed to favour Prince *James*'s Intereſt, *Przependowſki*'s Motives for changing Sides.

1697. but when he ſaw that Prince's Party entirely declined, he joined the Faction of *France*, *Nov.* 1696. Obſerving himſelf not ſo conſiderable in it as he deſired, he apprehended, that thoſe who were at the Head of it, might one Day carry the firſt Dignities of the Kingdom to his Prejudice. This Opinion induced him to take ſuch Meaſures, as ſhould lay the Sovereign to be elected under Obligations to him for the Crown. He caſt an Eye upon the Court of *Saxony*, where a young Elector reigned, who in all Probability would not be offended in being thought of as a Candidate. To him he offered his Services. And upon the Anſwer he received, went ſecretly to *Dreſden*, in *Feb.* 1676. where his Reception was ſuitable to the Merit of one, who came to offer a Crown, or the Means to obtain it.

He offers the Crown to the Elector of *Saxony*.

Przependowſki began with repreſenting to the Elector the preſent Condition of *Poland*. He told him Prince *James*'s Party was ruined; that the younger Brothers had no Pretenſions to the Crown; that the Queen ſupported her Meaſures no longer, ſince her Complaiſance for the Embaſſador of *France* had deprived her of two Millions, the only Recourſe ſhe had for the reeſtabliſhment of her Son's Affairs; that the Princes of *Newburgh*, *Lorrain* and *Baden*, had no Party formed; that the Prince of *Conti*'s was ſtrong indeed, but that it would not be impoſ-

His Repreſentations to that Prince.

impoſſible to deſtroy it, and ſubſtitute in its Place a Faction for his Electoral Highneſs, if he would take the ſame Meaſures for himſelf, that the *Abbe Polignac* had done for the Prince of *Conti*. He added that thoſe Meaſures conſiſted, Firſt, in the Promiſe of three Millions, of which the Republick was in Want for the Payment of its Armies, that Sum to be ſhewed to the Commiſſaries before the Election: Secondly, in the Preſence of his Highneſs; and he took Occaſion to obſerve here, that *France* would find it difficult to tranſport the Prince of *Conti* into *Poland*, in a Time of War, when the Paſſages by Land and Sea were equally ſhut up againſt him; inſtead of which they were entirely open on all Sides to his Electoral Highneſs. In the third Place it would be neceſſary for his Highneſs to turn *Roman Catholick*, and engage that the Electreſs his Conſort ſhould embrace the ſame Religion. This laſt Condition, which appeared the moſt difficult, was the moſt eaſy. All the World looked upon the Elector of *Saxony* as a *Lutheran:* But there were Certificates to prove, that he had been inſtructed in a Tour he made two Years before to *Rome*, and had abjured *Lutheraniſm* to the Prince of *Sax-Zaits*, Biſhop of *Javarin*, his Relation. The *Caſtellan* left *Dreſden*, laden with magnificent Preſents, and better pleaſed with Promiſes of a much greater Value

1697.

Auguſtus Elector of *Saxony* is a *Roman Catholick* tho' believed a *Lutheran.*

1697. Value returned to *Poland*, to diſpoſe that Nation to receive the Offers he had to make from the Elector.

Perplexity of *Przetendowſki.*

On his Arrival at *Warſaw*, he did not fail to find himſelf extremely at a Loſs. In his Journey to *Dreſden* he had conſulted Prudence leſs than Intereſt. His Credit was ſo ſlender that he knew not how to get a Negotiation of his own contriving, approved. His Friends with whom he had not adviſed would have been exceeding glad, that he had not intermedled in ſo tender an Affair. Some were of Opinion he ought to ſpeak, others that he ought to hold his Tongue; both Methods equally dangerous, ſo that he who had been ſo bold in giving his Advice at *Dreſden*, was in no Condition to follow it himſelf at *Warſaw*. To draw himſelf out of this *Dilemma*, he wrote to the Chevalier *Flemming*, who came to his Relief, with the offer of his Maſter's Perſon and Purſe.

Flemming opens the Negotiation for the Elector of *Saxony.*

Flemming delivered the ſecond of *May* a Letter from the Elector of *Saxony* to *Abbe Polignac*. It was rumoured, that the Elector inſinuated, the King of *France* abandoned the Election of the Prince of *Conti*; and that the Embaſſador returned an Anſwer no Way ſatisfactory to the Court of *Dreſden*. Be that as it will, there was another Letter from that Prince to the Primate of *Poland*; who made Anſwer, as was ſaid, in Terms, that

that did not give the leaſt Encouragement. The Embaſſador of *France* was ſenſibly touch'd with the Appearance of this new Candidate. It had not been difficult for him to have given that Prince the Excluſion in the Petty Diets, had he known ſooner of his ſetting up. But the Time for them was elapſed. The Meeting of the general Diet drew nigh. The Nobility had began their March to *Warſaw*, with Colours flying, and the Factions grew warmer than ever. 1697.

There were however properly ſpeaking only two Parties, that diſputed the Crown, the Prince of *Conti*'s, and the Elector of *Saxony*'s. The firſt was always the ſtrongeſt, the other formed itſelf by Degrees, ſecretly ſupported by the Court of *Vienna*, and the Complaints of the *Caſtellan* of *Culm*, That *France* did not execute its Engagements, that the Prince of *Conti* was abſent, and that the Money was wanting for the Payment of the Army. This was an eſſential Means to turn the Preference upon the Elector of *Saxony*, who was ready to appear with the Money in Hand, to anſwer all the Occaſions of the Republick. On the other Side the *Abbe Polignac* gave out, that the Prince of *Conti* would ſoon be upon the Spot, and aſſured them, the expected Remittances would not be delayed at all. But all his Profeſſions did not prevent ſome *Poliſh* Lords from

Two Parties diſpute the Crown.

1697. from wavering, upon the Proſpect of other Promiſes nearer their Execution.

Accommodation with the Confederates comes to nothing.

About this Time News came that the Army in Confederacy was at length returned to their Obedience. It was now ſeveral Months ſince the Biſhop of *Ploſko*, Chief in the Commiſſion, appointed by the Senate to treat with the Rebels, had ſeen the Accommodation he endeavoured to conclude brought to nothing. He had gone ſo far as to prevail upon the Rebels to approve the Offers made to them in the Name of the Senate. But *Baranowſki* diſowned his Deputies Proceedings, and condemned the Chiefs of them to Death, upon Pretence that he had exceeded his Inſtructions. The Execution had however been omitted, at the Requeſt of the Commiſſaries of the Republick, who renewed the Conferences at the Caſtle of *Sambor*, where *Baranowſki* reſided.

New Conferences broke of.

Theſe Conferences were not more ſucceſsful than the former. *Baranowſki* ſuborned ſome of his Companions to give out, that this treating was only a Stratagem to ſurprize their General. Upon which the whole Army declared againſt all Accommodation. *Baranowſki* immediately publiſhed a Manifeſto, in which he endeavoured to juſtify his Conduct. But the Senators aſſembled at *Leopold*, declared him guilty of Sedition

Sedition, and the Confederates, Rebels, and Enemies of their Country. 1697.

So vigorous a Reſolution was the deciſive Stroke; more than forty Companies renounced the Confederacy, and their Example ſtaggered the reſt. *Baranowſki* was ſo intimidated by ſuch a Turn of Affairs, that he reſolved upon the ſame Expedient himſelf. He thought it better to take Advantage of the Pardon offered him, than to riſque being abandoned by all his Troops. It was eaſy to perceive Neceſſity was his only Motive for a Step of this Nature. Some of the Senators were for making a ſevere Example of him. But *Jablonowſki* interpoſed, that General had Powers from the Senate to treat with the Rebels, and even to give them Advantagious Conditions, provided they returned to their Duty. He declared to the Confederates, that the Republick pardoned their Crime, and gave them his Word of Honour that they might ſafely come to him at *Leopold*. Thither they marched with their General at their Head, who agreed to ſubmit to whatever Count *Jablonowſki* ſhould require, (his Life and Fortune exempted.)

The Army renounces the Confederacy.

Jablonowſki propoſes a general Pardon to the Confederates

The Eleventh of *May* was pitched upon for an Action, that it was neceſſary ſhould make ſome Figure. A Canopy of State was erected in the Church of the *Bernardines*, under which *Jablonowſki* took his Seat.

1697. Seat. *Baranowski* threw himself at his Feet, kissed the Footstool of his Chair, asked Pardon, renounced the Confederacy, tore to Pieces the Writing that appointed him its Chief, and sent away his Standards. After which his Staff of Office was broke, and the Service of Thanksgiving began, as for the gaining a Victory. As soon as the Ceremony was over, *Baranowski* disappeared, urged by his Shame, as some believed, to hide himself; others suspected he was secretly assassinated.

Opening of the Diet. The Time for holding the Diet was now arrived. The Fort and Bridge it was customary to build upon the *Vistula* being finished the 15th of *May*, the Day fixed for the general Diet, it opened with the usual Ceremonies. After the Mass of the *Holy Ghost*, celebrated by the *Pope*'s Nuncio, the Bishop of *Plosko* preached the Sermon, in which he exhorted the Assembly to have no other Interest than that of the Republick, to renounce all private Engagements, and place upon the Throne the Person, they should believe most worthy of it.

Motives that prevent the Marshal's Election. They did not proceed that Day to the Election of the Marshal of the Diet, as well because of the Multiplicity of Pretenders, as that they apprehended the Nobility of the Palatinates of *Cracow*, and *Sendomir*, in Conjunction with the *Russian Pospolite*, who were

were preſent in great Numbers at the opening of the Diet, ſhould chuſe a Marſhal to their own liking. It was thought proper to refer the Election of that Officer, till the Arrival of the Nobility of the other *Palatinates*. Several Sittings paſſed without any important Reſolution: The *Palatinates* only agreeing to deſire Count *Humieniſki*; who had been elected Marſhal of the Preliminary Diet, to continue in that Function, till another ſhould be elected for this. *Humieniſki*, after having thanked the *Palatinates* for the Honour done him, repreſented, that the deplorable Condition of the Republick proceeded only from its Want of an Head, and that it was neceſſary their Choice ſhould be deferred no longer. 1697.

Humieniſki deſired to officiate as Marſhal.

After this Diſcourſe one of the *Palatinates* moved, that Enquiry ſhould be made into the Authors of the Confederacy of the Army, before the Election of the King, or the Thoughts of nominating a Marſhal. The *Palatinates* of *Great Poland*, and *Cujavia* added, that to preſerve the Liberty of their Suffrages, the Senators ought not to be admitted into the Place of the Election with ſuch Numbers of Followers, nor the Anti-Chamber of the Marſhal continually crowded with Livery Servants. Theſe Motions gave Occaſion for Debates ſufficiently warm; and it was to be feared, that Violence would have

Propoſals made to the Diet.

1697. have enſued, when the End of the Seſſion ſuſpended their Conteſts.

This Suſpenſion was not of long Duration. They began *May* 19. when it was propoſed to elect a Marſhal. That Officer was to be choſen out of the Deputies of *Great Poland*, it being their Turn. The Queen's and great General's Party uſed their Endeavours, that the Choice ſhould fall upon the Staroſt *Odalanowſki*, Grand-Son of the great General, and Son of Count *Leſzinſki*, Palatine of *Lencicia*, and Staroſt General of *Great Poland*. The Party againſt *France* were for having Count *Humieniſki* elected, who had been Marſhal of the preliminary Diet, but it was contrary to the Law to continue him in the Diet of Election. In the Faction of *France* there were no leſs than eight Competitors, who were at more Trouble to agree amongſt themſelves, than to exclude thoſe propoſed by the contrary Parties.

Seven Competitors for the Office of Marſhal deſiſt.

Nevertheleſs after ſeveral Days were paſſed, Prince *Cazimir Czartoreſki*, of the ancient Houſe of *Lithuania*, reflecting his Conſtitution was too weak for the Fatigues of the Marſhal's Employment, withdrew his Pretenſion. Count *Braniſki*, great Maſter of the Houſhold, Son in Law of the Palatine of *Wilna*, followed his Example. An Impediment of another Kind induced this Lord to deſiſt. He was ſenſible that the Diffi-

Difficulty of ſpeaking in Publick rendered him leſs fit for this Employment than another. *Potaliſki* Staroſt of *Borzekow*, and *Czapſki* Staroſt of *Klek*, divided the Voices of *Pruſſia*, and the Emulation between them was great. It was obſerved to them, that there was but one Employment, and that they muſt agree about it between themſelves. But they choſe rather that both ſhould deſiſt, than ſubmit in any Thing to one another. To diſengage Count *Sapieha*, great Maſter of the Horſe of *Lithuania*, and Count *Dialinſki*, great Maſter of the Horſe of the Crown, and Treaſurer of *Pruſſia*, a Stratagem was made Uſe of. To the firſt was promiſed ſecretly, that he ſhould be choſen Marſhal of the Diet of the Coronation, if he would deſiſt at preſent. His Competitor, ignorant of this Addreſs, was contented to abandon his Pretenſions, ſufficiently ſatisfied in the Notion of having prevented his Opponent's Election. The deſiſting of all theſe Pretenders, was not favourable to Count *Miezinſki*, Staroſt of *Wielen*. He found his Party very unequal, and made a Merit of it, from his Friends Want of Power, to offer his Voice to Count *Bielinſki*, great Chamberlain of the Crown, whom the *Abbe Polignac* favoured. 1697.

That Miniſter had been choſen Arbitrator of the Difference, between thoſe eight Lords, and inclined to Count *Bielinſki*, who was The French Embaſſador arbitrates.

1697. was entirely devoted to *France*, as well on Account of his Marriage with the Daughter of the late Count *Moſteyn*, formerly high Treaſurer of *Poland*, who in 1683, retired into *France*, as becauſe he had a great Eſtate in that Country.

Other Debates on the Diet. The uniting of all theſe Lords, in Favour of Count *Bielinſki*, was a great Point gained. But there was ſtill a great Deal wanting, before they could be aſſured of his Election. The Party againſt *France* were fully reſolved, to ſuffer no other Marſhal, than the Staroſt *Odalanowſki*. The Obſtinacy on both Sides was ſo great, that there was a Neceſſity to defer the Election. There were beſides this, ſeveral Incidents that broke in continually upon the Point in Queſtion, by furniſhing new Matter for Diviſion. When the Election of the Marſhal was ſpoke of, ſome of the Nuncio's were above all Things for examining into the Grievances of the Nation from the Royal Family, and the Partiſans of the Royal Family immediately inſiſted, that the two Treaſurers ſhould be called to Account. Others again were as ſtiff for an Enquiry into the Authors of the Confederacy of the Armies.

So many Diviſions would not admit their proceeding to the Election of a Marſhal. They were at length obliged to make that Choice *June* 15. by *Poſtpolite*; every Gentleman in his Turn giving his Suffrage into

to the Hands of Count *Humieniſki*. Count *Bielinſki* had the Majority of Voices, and was immediately proclaimed Marſhal. Thus he obtained that Dignity, which did not hold him ſo long as the Time it coſt him in ſolliciting it. The Faction of *France* expreſſed abundance of Joy upon his Election, that did not a little flatter their Expectations. 1697. *Bielinſki* appointed Marſhal of the Diet.

This Affair, tho' properly only a Preliminary, had ſpun out a Month entire. There was no likelihood, that the Election of the King, which was a Matter of quite different Conſequence, could be determined this Diet, which was of Courſe to break up in twelve Days. The Nobility were grown impatient. Proviſions, Money, and every Thing elſe began to fail; for the Sums diſtributed by the Candidates were not ſufficient for the Entertainment of ſo great a Multitude of Gentlemen. The Length of the Diet was no leſs inconvenient to the Grandees, from the exceſſive Expences, they were obliged to be at. The great Treaſurer of the Crown had defrayed for many Days the Palatinate of *Ruſſia*, conſiſting of twelve thouſand Gentlemen. Nor had the other Heads of Factions been much behind him in the ſame Article. Impatience cauſed by the Length of the Diet.

Theſe Inconveniences did not hinder their taking Meaſures for the Election of the King. But they acted in them with ſo little Concert, Meaſures taken to elect the King.

1697. that from the firſt it was eaſy to foreſee, the Election would be double. The two Parties had calculated their Force, the one which had been gratified with ſeeing they had carried the Point they diſputed, endeavoured to improve the Advantage; the other, which had been mortified with their Enemies Superiority, laboured to ſtrengthen themſelves. They began by demanding that the Marſhal elected, in Caſe of a double Election, ſhould not deliver the *Diploma*, without the Conſent of the Republick. This was no new Propoſal; it had been uſed before in the ſame Manner at the Election of King *Michael*. But from thence it was inferred, that thoſe who made the Demand, projected a double Election, in Caſe their Faction ſhould be worſted a ſecond Time.

Przependowſki labours to weaken the *French* Party.

To prevent that Diſgrace they had Recourſe to their Addreſs in negotiating. *Przependowſki* among the reſt, redoubled his Endeavours to weaken a Party, which in the preſent State of Things, left him no Hopes of Succeſs for the Enterprize he had formed. The Palatine of *Wilna* ſeemed to him under ſome Irreſolution; he forgot nothing that might entirely change his Sentiments. He repreſented to him that the Elector of *Saxony* performed his Promiſes, and that the Miniſters of *France* contented themſelves with giving fair Words. The Palatine was in ſome Meaſure brought over by the Caſtellan

lan of *Culm*'s Diſcourſe, and in a Council held at the Primate's, after the Marſhal of the Diet's Election, complained with ſome Warmth, that the Promiſes of *France* were not executed, of the Prince of *Conti*'s Abſence, and of the Want of Money for the Payment of the Army. The Miniſters of *France* however anſwered his Complaints ſo effectually, that he was obliged to give into their Opinion. He alſo ſwore, with the Cardinal and many others of the Lords, to elect no other King but the Prince of *Conti*. As the Remittances were expected at *Dantzick* againſt the Time of the Election, that Obſtacle was looked upon to be removed. To remove alſo that of the Prince's Abſence, it was reſolved to ſign and diſpatch Letters already prepared, to haſten his coming, which had been ſuſpended only in Expectation of the Remittances. 1697. Oath taken by ſeveral Lords.

The 17th of *June* and the two following Days nothing but Faction and Intrigue went forward at *Warſaw*, and in the Diet, Diviſion, Accuſation, and Recrimination were all that paſſed. The Enemies of the Royal Family made frequent Demands, that the national Grievances ſhould be enquired into; to which the Partizans of that Houſe replyed, that it was Neceſſary above all Things to examine into the Accounts of the Treaſurers. The Reſolution agreed on, to refer thoſe two Points to the Diet of the Contention in the Diet.

1697. Coronation was the only Means to put an End to the Debates upon them. That Expedient gave Leiſure to apply to the Regulation of the Articles, to which the new King was to ſwear, and to ſeveral other preliminary Points.

The Diet gives Audience to the *Pope*'s Nuncio,

On the 20th *Davia*, the *Pope*'s Nuncio had his publick Audience with the uſual Ceremonies. In his Diſcourſe, he exhorted the Nobility to elect a *Catholick* King, who might be uſeful to the Church and the Kingdom. The Day following the Biſhop of *Paſſaw*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from the Emperor, had alſo his publick Audience, but not without ſuffering ſeveral Indignities. That Miniſter came from *Vienna* to *Warſaw* with few Attendants. Propriety obliged him to have a Train, ſuitable to the Dignity of the Sovereign he repreſented. He had taken ſeveral *Germans* into his Service, whom he found at *Warſaw*. Thoſe People little informed in Ceremonial, ſurrounded the Embaſſador, with their Swords drawn, and raiſed: The Marſhal of the Diet in coming to conduct him to the Aſſembly obſerved it, and expreſſed himſelf in very high Terms, threatning if they did not put up their Swords, he would order them to be attack'd immediately. The Party would not have been equal, it was therefore Neceſſary to obey. Another Difference aroſe after that Prelate's entring the Aſſembly, the great

and the Emperor's Embaſſador.

Mortifications of that Miniſter.

great Secretary of the Crown, into whoſe Hands the Emperor's Letters were delivered, perceived as he advanced with them towards the Primate, that on their Inſcription or Direction the Terms *Inclytæ Reipublicæ* were made Uſe of, inſtead of *Sereniſſimæ Reipublicæ*. This the Primate complained of, as of a State ill aſſumed. The Embaſſador, who did not foreſee ſuch a Difficulty, deſired Permiſſion to make his Apology in full Diet, which was granted, upon Condition that he ſhould add the Word *Sereniſſimæ* with his own Hand, and engage to have it approved by the Emperor. But he excuſed himſelf, alledging that it exceeded his Power to alter any Thing in the Stile of the Imperial Chancery, ſo that his Letter was not received. Theſe Mortifications were only a Prelude to thoſe, he was to experience that Day. The People in his Train had placed themſelves round him in ſuch a Manner, as hindred him from being ſeen. This gave Offence, and Signs were made to them to remove, but they choſe to lie down upon the Ground. The Embaſſador himſelf was reprimanded upon it. Whilſt he ſpoke he was frequently interrupted, becauſe he made Uſe of the Term *Vos* inſtead of the Terms of Honour due to a Republick free and crowned. His Diſcourſe he read, and continued it without changing his Expreſſions in any Thing, whilſt ſeveral 1697.

1697. Persons apostrophised upon it, without any Manner of Ceremony. He was so disorder'd by this Usage, that he bled at the Nose, which relieved him opportunely from further Trouble. It is observable that he had began to recommend Prince *James*.

The *French* Minister avoids the Insults intended.

The *Abbe Polignac* was to have Audience the next Day, being the twenty second, and the opposite Party were resolved to interrupt him in Revenge of the Imperial Minister's Mortifications. You have insulted our Embassador, said *Jablonowski* Starost of *Olszten*, to Morrow we shall return the Favour by yours. Some Persons were so wise to intimate this to the *French* Minister. It was apprehended, he was not so flegmatick to suffer patiently an Indignity of that Nature. His Conduct upon the Occasion was not to expose himself to it. He contented himself with printing what he had to offer, and having it delivered to each Palatinate under his Hand and Seal.

Surprizing Proposal made him.

On the twenty third a Compliment was made that Minister, which he had not expected, if Count *Priemski* Castellan of *Kalisch*, his particular Friend had not given him Notice of it beforehand. The Bishop of *Ploско*, and the Count's *Dzialinski* and *Wapowski* waited upon him from the Council. They desired he would consider the Misfortunes that threatened *Poland*, that the double Election they had foreseen was inevitable, because

cauſe it was out of their Power to provide the neceſſary Succours, which were the only Means to prevent or defeat it; that they had found an Expedient to ſecure the Repoſe of the Republick, and the Honour of *France* without being any Prejudice to his Excellency. Which Expedient was, to conſent that the Crown ſhould be given to the Elector of *Saxony*, who would engage to return the King of *France* the Money he had expended, and have all the Regard for the Embaſſador's Perſon, which could be expected from the Gratitude of a Prince, indebted to him for a Crown. 1697.

His Repreſentations to the Senate.

The *Abbe Polignac*, after having taken ſome Time to prepare his Anſwer, attended the three Deputies to the Senate. He there repreſented, of what Conſequence it was to prevent the Elector of *Saxony*'s being placed on the Throne, the Danger of being under the Government of a *German* Prince, as well in Regard to the Liberties as Religion of *Poland*. Theſe Repreſentations were followed with Menaces. He told them he was aſſured of a Body of the Nobility, to ſupport the Intereſts of his Candidate, and that, if after all the Prince of *Conti* was not elected, his Party would at leaſt be ſtrong enough to ſupport that of Prince *James*, with which he would join, and he conceived the Cardinal Primate, and the other Grandees would act in the ſame Manner.

1697. Confirms them to the Party of *France*.

The Embaſſador's Diſcourſe confirmed the Counſel in their firſt Sentiments. They underſtood from it, that the *French* Party which was reported to be in the Decline, was ſtronger than was given out; on the other Hand they were afraid of falling again under the Queen's Adminiſtration. Theſe Conſiderations engaged them to promiſe to ſupport the Prince of *Conti*'s Intereſt, which they all perſevered to do to the laſt, except *Krziſzpin*, Palatine of *Witepſk* and *Morſteyn* Caſtellan of *Czerſkow*, who were prevailed upon to change Sides by the Promiſes of the Caſtellan of *Culm*.

Przependowſki brings over ſome Lords to his Party.

From the Election of the Marſhal, *Przependowſki* had endeavoured to bring over the Palatine of *Wilna* into his Party, but he was too irreſolute to be fixed to either Side. He had ſoon Reaſon not to be too much in Pain upon that Account. Beſides the Palatine of *Witepſk*, and the Caſtellan of *Czerſkow*, he engaged ſeveral other Grandees. *Potoſki*, Palatine of *Cracow*, and Under-General of the Crown ſent the twenty fourth, to let the *French* Embaſſador know, that upon the Aſſignment of a certain Sum of Money to him he would come into his Meaſures with all his Faction. But whether this Miniſter had not the Money, or did not think proper to hazard it, he declined the Advantage; upon which *Potoſki* made his Bargain with the Caſtellan of *Culm*. *Jablonowſki* grand

grand General of the Crown, *Joſeph Sluſzka*, Caſtellan of *Wilna*, and Under-General of *Lithuania*, the Biſhop of *Cujavia*, Vice-Chancellor *Tarlo*, and ſeveral others, went alſo over into the ſame Party. All theſe Lords had abandoned Prince *James*'s Party, whoſe Intereſt they obſerved to be irretrievably ſunk. From which Time the *Saxon* Faction, and that of *France* ſubſiſted alone; the other Competitors being conſidered with Indifference in almoſt all the Palatinates. 1697.

Efforts of the *French* Embaſſador to weaken the Party of *Saxony*.

The *Abbe Polignac* knew the Danger. He did his utmoſt to weaken a Faction, that made ſuch head againſt him. He objected three Arguments to them, which would entirely have overthrown them, had they been ſupported by any Thing more real than fine Words. He aſked how they came to think of electing a Prince, whoſe Nation had always been the Abhorrence of *Poland*? Whether they did not apprehend his Power? And whether his Religion alone was not a ſufficient Motive for excluding him? Theſe Reaſons were not without their Effect upon the Multitude; but the Lords who had gone ſo far to declare for the Elector, were not at all moved by them. They found that Prince's Money ſufficient to ſet aſide their national Averſion for the *Germans*; that his Power would ſupply the Weakneſs of his Party; and that his having abjured *Lutheraniſm*

1697. *anism* was Reason enough for leaving Religion out of the Question.

Conversion of the Elector what Thought of it.

It was indeed given out, that two Years before that Prince was converted at *Rome*. But as he had afterwards been seen to assist at the *Lutheran* Communion, the pretended Conversion was not much to be depended upon. It was the Opinion of some People that his Relapse rendered him still more incapable of the Crown. To prevent this Account from being looked upon as a Fable, a Certificate from the Prince of *Sax Zeitz*, his Relation, Bishop of *Javarin*, was produced afterwards to support it. Its Contents were in Effect that *June* 2, 1696, being *Trinity* Sunday, the Elector of *Saxony* had made his Abjuration to him at *Vienna*. The Chevalier *Flemming* shewed this Paper to all the World, which however convinced very few. Objections were raised against a Certificate in which neither the Witnesses nor the Church were mention'd.

Assembling of the Diet to settle Preliminaries.

The 25th of *June*, all the Palatinates assembled to conclude upon the Preliminaries of the Election, which was fixed for the next Day. All the Nobility, to the Number of an hundred thousand, and upwards, were arrived in the Plains about *Warsaw*. Each Palatinate under its own Standard, divided into Companies, the strongest consisting of eight or nine hundred Men, the weakest of two hundred. They were all

on

on Horſeback, except ſome few Foot poſted behind the Cavalry. Thoſe Foot who were alſo without Sabres, and armed with Scythes, were poor Gentlemen, who had not Money to buy Horſes, yet had an equal Privilege in giving their Votes. 1697.

The Diet upon the Point of anticipating the Election of the Prince of *Conti*.

It is cuſtomary at this Time for the Senators to harangue their Palatinates, to recommend their making the Election according to the Laws of the Kingdom. The Biſhop of *Ploſko* had ſcarce made an End of his Speech to his Palatinate, when the Gentlemen who compoſed it, cried out *Vivat Conti*, long live *Conti*, and gave a Volley. The Palatinates of *Siradia*, and *Rava* followed their Example, as did the three of *Pruſſia*. The Election was upon the Point of being anticipated, through the Impatience of the Nobility for a Sovereign. And if their Ardor had been followed, the Prince of *Conti* had been elected that Day. The Majority of the Gentlemen, who had only heard that Prince, and Prince *James* ſpoken of, declared entirely for the former, rejecting the latter; and had not the leaſt Thoughts of the Elector, or the other Candidates.

Propoſal of the *Saxon* Party.

The Caſtellan of *Culm*, and all his Faction apprehended their being ſurprized. To prevent which, they proteſted againſt the Behaviour of the Primate, the Biſhop of *Ploſko*, the Palatine of *Culm*, of the *Lubomerſki*'s

1697. *merski*'s, the *Sapieha*'s, and the *Radzevil*'s whom they accuſed of having concerted to anticipate the Election contrary to the Regulations. They demanded, that according to Law, it ſhould not be made till the Candidates were firſt propoſed, which ought not to be till the Day appointed for the Election. Their Demand was complyed with. Thus the Prince of *Conti*'s Partizans let his Fortune ſlip out of their Hands, which however did not fail to offer it ſelf again the next Day.

Efforts of the Parties againſt each other.

What had happened employed equally the Thoughts of each Party. The reſt of the Day and the whole Night was paſſed in cultivating their ſeveral Intereſts. The Faction of *Saxony* took no ſmall Pains to publiſh the Elector's Converſion, and that of *France* to have it looked upon as imaginary. Both the one and the other had Recourſe to the *Pope*'s Nuncio. That Miniſter was under no ſmall Perplexity. To extricate himſelf, he promiſed the Party of *Saxony* to confirm the Biſhop of *Javarin*'s Certificate, aſſuring that of *France* at the ſame Time, that he would have nothing to ſay to it. He kept his Word with them that Day, but broke it the next in favour of the Elector. He thought That perhaps a ſufficient Diſcharge of his Promiſe.

The Diet prepares to proceed to

The 26th of *June* being the Day fixed for the Election, very early in the Morning, the Aſſembly

Aſſembly met in the Church of St. *John*, where the Primate celebrated Maſs. The Biſhop of *Ploſko* preached the Sermon, in which he introduced ſeveral ingenious Turns, which ſufficiently explained his Inclinations, and Hopes. After Maſs they repaired with the uſual Ceremony to the Place of Election. The Senators took their Places in the *Colo*, and the Cardinal made a Speech wherein he deſcribed the Qualities the King ought to have, whom they propoſed to elect. He proceded to nominate the Candidates, and to give them the Praiſes due to their Merit. The Elector of *Saxony* was the laſt mentioned. We ought not to forget him, ſays the Primate, Honour obliges us to mention him. Nevertheleſs that Prince ought not to be elected, as he profeſſes *Lutheraniſm*, and no Body can be aſſured of his Converſion founded upon ſuch defective Proofs. 1697. the Election.

His Intention was to prepare the Aſſembly for a Proceeding of his, that had too much the Air of Novelty to pleaſe every Body. He ſet his Knee to the Ground, and raiſing his Hands to Heaven declared, he would never nominate the King but with unanimous Conſent, except their Attachment ſhould be to a Perſon worthy of being elected. Having finiſhed his Oath he roſe up. The eccleſiaſtical and ſecular Senators then took Horſe, in Order to appear at the Head of their reſpective Palatinates, which was not uſual Primate's Oath.

1697. ſual on that Occaſion. They were told that the Senators having endeavoured the ſame Thing at the Election of King *Michael*, on the Diviſion of the Nobility between the Princes of *Newburgh*, and *Lorain*, they fired upon them. So ſalutary an Hint, induced thoſe Lords to change their Deſign, and as well that they might do nothing contrary to Law, as for the Security of their Perſons, they returned directly. The Primate and the Marſhal ſtaid alone in the *Colo*, facing each other, to receive Diſpatches, which came frequently, and to give the neceſſary Orders.

The Royal Family's Party ſeem to revive.

At firſt the Royal Family's Party ſeemed to revive. The Palatine of *Cracow*, who ſpoke firſt, and him of *Poſnania*, who ſpoke next, remonſtrated, that good Manners, the antient Uſage obſerved from immemorial Time, and the Remembrance ſtill recent of their great Obligations to the late King, required, that the Republick ſhould preſent the Crown to Prince *James*. Upon which three Companies of *Cracow* cried out, long live *James* Son of the King, one Company of *Poſnania* did the ſame tho' more faintly. But the three remaining Companies of the firſt of thoſe Palatinates, and the five of the ſecond cried out, long live *Conti*, and with ſo much Vehemence, that his Name reſounded thro' the whole Field. *Wilna*, which voted third ſhouted alſo long live *Conti*, and the reſt followed their Example, 'till it came

Acclamations in *Conti*'s Favour.

to

to the Turn of *Samogitia*. Some Palatinates however had Thoughts of recommending the Princes of *Newburgh* and *Lorrain*, as well upon Account of their Birth, as becauſe of the Alliance and Amity between the Emperor and the Republick. Other Palatinates thought fit that the advantagious Propoſals of the Prince *Don Livio Odeſchalchi* ſhould be conſidered. 1697.

All this did not hinder the Prince of *Conti*'s Party from having the Superiority. Its Oppoſers were afraid they ſhould ſee him Elected, in Spite of all their Addreſs. To ward which Blow they engaged two Companies of *Samogitia*, to nominate the Elector of *Saxony*. That Name was odious to the *French* Faction, who threatened no leſs than to put all to the Sword who ſhould dare to propoſe a *Lutheran*: This was the only Objection to this Prince, who had all the Recommendations that Valour, high Birth, and great Riches could give him, and was in every Reſpect as proper a Perſon as could be thought of, to reeſtabliſh the Republick's Affairs. His Adherents knew the moſt material Point was, to obviate the Reproach of his being a *Lutheran*, and declared every where, that the Elector was a good *Catholick*, and had made his Abjuration. As they found it difficult to be believed upon their bare Word, they added, that the *Pope*'s Nuncio was ready to atteſt it on the Part of his Holineſs. Scarce any Body but a few poor Gentlemen, to Suffrages for the Elector.

1697. whom the Caſtellan of *Culm*, had given Liquors and a Crown a Piece, were ſatisfied with this Declaration. Others demanded to ſee the Nuncio's Atteſtation.

Method of the Imperial Miniſter in Favour of the *Saxon* Party.

That Atteſtation was ſtill wanting, and it was with Difficulty they got it. The Nuncio had not forgot his Promiſe of the Day before. The Biſhop of *Paſſaw* undertook for the Succeſs of that Affair. He waited on the Nuncio, and let him know, that if he did not give it immediately, he muſt reſolve to ſee the Prince of *Conti* elected without Oppoſition. The Nuncio could reſiſt no longer; he took the Biſhop of *Javarin*'s Letter, and underwrote his Acknowledgment of that Prelate's Writing, with his and the Elector's Praiſe annexed; which did not ſo much belong to him. About eleven in the Morning, the Caſtellan of *Culm* brought this Piece in Perſon to the Camp. He held it out in his Hand, and order'd his People to publiſh in a loud Voice, that the *Pope*'s Nuncio declared the Elector of *Saxony* a good *Catholick*, and that the Holy Father demanded the Crown for that Prince.

The Elector's Party grows ſtrong.

Such an Artifice had all the Succeſs that could be expected. A great Number of Gentlemen ſuffered themſelves to be caught by it, ſo that about Noon, the Party of *Saxony* was ſuperior to thoſe of *Sobieſki*, *Newburgh*, *Lorrain* and *Baden*, but ſtill Inferior to that of *Conti*. This Turn of Things

occaſioned ſo much Confuſion, that it was no longer poſſible to take the Votes. To remove which Inconvenience, the Primate propoſed, that thoſe for *Conti* ſhould move to one Side, and thoſe for the other Candidates to the other. This Order was immediately executed. So great a Number of Companies for *Conti* marched to the Right of the *Szopa* as alarmed the *Saxon* Faction not a little. They redoubled their Efforts to form a Body on the left. Notwithſtanding all their Pains, there was a great Number wanting to make it equal that of the Adverſary. 1697.

Diſpoſitions ſo favourable induced the *French* Party to write every Inſtant to the Primate, to conjure him to nominate the Prince of *Conti*, without waiting 'till next Day. But he let this Occaſion, which Fortune preſented, ſlip; as he did another, when the Palatinates drew up in Line of Battle and were ready to engage. The Caſtellan of *Kaliſch* mounted on a ſtrong Horſe, and holding a Crucifix in one Hand, and his Sabre drawn in the other, appeared at the Head of the Palatinates of his Party, calling out on all Sides, Let God, *Conti*, and Liberty, live. Their Heats ran ſo high, that it was expected every Moment they would have charged each other. The Biſhops of *Cujavia*, *Poſnania*, and *Livonia*, were ſo much convinced of it, that they took Horſe, fled

The Primate ſollicited in Vain to nominate the Prince of *Conti*.

The fright of ſome Biſhops.

1697. to *Warsaw*, and hid themselves in the Cloister of St. *John*. It had been over with the *Saxon* and all the other Parties; the Prince of *Conti* would have found no further Difficulty, nor a double Election been to fear, had the Primate then thought fit to nominate the King. After the Flight of the three Bishops, there was no farther Apprehension of a contrary Nomination. But whether that Prelate was less inclined than he appeared, or had less Resolution than Probity, he complied at the Request of the Generals, to defer the Nomination till next Day. To justify this Conduct, it was given out that fourteen Companies of *Sendomir* and *Mazovia*, in which the greatest Strength of the opposite Party consisted, had promised to change Sides as soon as the Obscurity of the Night would admit. Whether it were so or not, he acquiesced with the Generals Proposal, and when he was sollicited to declare the Prince of *Conti*, the Night approaches, said he, the Election of the King of *Poland* should not be the Work of Darkness. Let us do it to Morrow.

Artifice to counterballance the Party of *France*.

It was agreed by all Parties to pass the Night on Horseback, and that no Body should quit their Post. The Primate himself staid there all Night in his Coach. The Castellan of *Culm* did not follow his Example. He went secretly to *Warsaw*, to the Bishop of *Passaw*, where the Envoys

of *Saxony*, *Bavaria*, and *Brandenburgh*, 1697.
thoſe of the Dukes of *Newburgh* and *Lorrain*, with the Reſident of *Venice*, were aſſembled. They agreed that as they could do no otherwiſe, they would give up the Pretenſions of their reſpective Candidates, to the Elector of *Saxony*, whoſe Faction was the ſtrongeſt next to the Prince of *Conti*'s. They went further. They engaged to aſſiſt the Chevalier *Flemming* with their Money. The Envoy of *Brandenburgh* contributed two hundred thouſand Crowns, intended for the Prince of *Baden*. The Biſhop of *Paſſaw* one hundred and fifty thouſand, which he had with him; and the reſt in Proportion. There was not any of them who did not come into this, even to the Reſident of *Venice*, who took Occaſion to ſignalize himſelf, at the Queen's Expence. He advanced thirty thouſand Crowns, which that Princeſs had confided to his Care, to be applied occaſionally for Prince *James*'s Service. All this Money with what the Chevalier *Flemming* had before, and what the *Jews* advanced upon Bills of Exchange, made up the Sum of one Million eight hundred thouſand Livres, which it was reſolved to diſtribute properly amongſt the two Parties. This was carried by Waggons all Night long to the Camp, and was a kind of Argument of much greater Force than all the Eloquence of the Generals.

1697. Does not succeed entirely.

At first the Success did not fully answer the Design. Notwithstanding their Money, only a small Number of Companies were brought over, and some of their own quitted them to join the Prince of *Conti*, which put them upon applying again to their Address in negociating. The three Generals, *Jablonowski*, *Potoski*, and *Sluska*, endeavoured to gain *Sapieha*, grand General of *Lithuania*; but they were tired of following a Man, who could come to no Resolution, nor determine either for the one or the other Party. The Castellan of *Culm*, and the Chevalier *Flemming* had no better Success in another Attempt. The 27th, about two in the Morning, they went to the *Abbe Polignac*, whom they informed of the great Pains they had taken all Night: That their Party was rich and well reinforced, and that he might still take the Advantage of the Offers made him. That Minister instead of answering their Proposals, reproached the first with his Treason, and the second with his Want of Sincerity. He bad him remember the Assurances he had given him the second of *May*, that the Elector would only pretend to the Crown, under the Approbation of his most Christian Majesty, and in Default of the Prince of *Conti*; and that however in direct Contradiction to his Promise given, *France* found no other Opposition than from his Electoral Highness. Upon which

which *Przependowſki* and *Flemming* withdrew. 1697.

At the break of Day, the Heads of the different Parties reviewed the Gentlemen, who compoſed them, and all Things were diſpoſed to compleat the Election, when to the general Surprize, the Palatinate of *Volhinia*, the Diſtrict of *Wielun*, and ſome Companies of *Lithuania*, quitted their Ground, and poſted themſelves between the two Lines, in Sign of Neutrality. The Palatine of *Wilna* was at their Head, tho' all his Family kept in their former Poſts. Expreſſes were immediately diſpatched, to know the Reaſon of this Motion. The Palatine of *Wilna*'s Anſwer was ambiguous. He told them, his Example might terminate the Difference, and his Behaviour implyed he offered his Arbitration. His Meaning was not well underſtood. However, without deſiring further Explications, the great Treaſurer his Brother, his Children, and all his Family, the Marſhal of the Diet, and the Primate conjured him to reſume his Rank. Which he did, after repreſenting the Danger of giving the Emperor, the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and the *Muſcovite* Reaſon to be diſſatisfied.

Diſpoſition of the Diet to finiſh the Election.

Behaviour of the Palatine of *Wilna*.

This Affair was ſcarce over, when the Faction of *Saxony* ſent out of their Line, *Gerowſki*, Caſtellan of *Gneſna*, who made a Signal for ſome Body to advance, and receive

Conference demanded by the *Saxon* Party.

1697. ceive the Propoſal he had to make; *Swieniſki*, Biſhop of *Kiow*, was deputed, whom he informed, that his Party deſired a Conference by Deputies, in the midſt of the *Kolo*, in the Preſence of the Primate and Marſhal. Upon the Biſhop's Report, the Caſtellan's Demand was granted. When the Deputies of each Side were met, thoſe of the Party of *Saxony* ſaid, it was not their Inclination, there ſhould be a double Election, and that if the other Party would abandon the Prince of *Conti*, the Partiſans of *Saxony* would do the ſame by the Elector, and all the other Candidates who had been propoſed.

Their Propoſals.

How received.

Opinions differed upon this Propoſal. To ſome it appeared ridiculous, and only done from their Want of Confidence in the Succeſs of their Meaſures. Others were upon the Point of being catched by it, reflecting the Party were content to exclude ſo many Princes, if the Excluſion of only one were granted them. The High Treaſurer of the Crown propoſed to the Primate, to offer the Prince of *Baden* to the Party of *Saxony*, and the Biſhop of *Ploſko* ſeemed to ſecond him. But the Palatinates in the Intereſt of *Conti* flew out againſt thoſe Senators, and to cut ſhort all Conferences, that only ſerved to waſte Time to no Purpoſe, they unanimouſly called upon the Primate to nominate the King.

As

1697.

Laſt Attempt of the *Saxon* Party.

As the laſt Struggle, the Biſhop of *Cujavia* wrote the Primate a Letter in *Latin* and *Poliſh*. It's Subſtance was, that the Primate's Attachment to the Party of *France*, had made him forget his Obligations to the Royal Family, and overthrow Prince *James*'s Intereſt. * "I aſſure you, continued he, we "are forty Companies of us confederated in "Favour of the Elector of *Saxony*, in Caſe "you nominate the Prince of *Conti*. He "concluded with ſaying, that however he "would not attempt any Thing to the Pre-"judice of the Primate's juſt Rights, if not "compelled by Threats and Force."

This Letter was delivered to the Primate, at the Time he was going to give the Benediction to the Palatinates. They had drawn up round the *Kolo*, with Intent to make themſelves Maſters of it. As the Primate read the Biſhop of *Cujavia*'s Letter aloud, the Nobility took Occaſion from it to repreſent the Obſtinacy of the oppoſite Party, and their Reſolution of making a double Election with forty Companies. And judging it no longer neceſſary to preſerve any Meaſures, they expreſſed themſelves in ſo high a Tone, that the Primate frightened with their Language, gave the Benediction, got on Horſeback, and at Six in the Evening

The Nobility oblige the Primate to nominate the King.

* *Sunt nobis* 40 *vexilla Nobilium, pro* Saxone *conjurata ſi nominabis* Conti. *Attamen non involabo in jura Primatialia Veſtræ Eminentiæ, niſi coactus Minis & Armis.*

nomi-

1697. nominated *Francis Lewis* of *Bourbon*, Prince of *Conti*, King of *Poland*, and grand Duke of *Lithuania*.

P. of *Conti* proclaimed.

Te Deum ſung.

The Proclamation being over, the Primate attended by all the Nobility went to *Warſaw*, where the *Te Deum* was ſung in the Church of St. *John*. The Biſhop of *Poſnania*, Ordinary of the Place, and the Biſhop of *Livonia*, Dean of the Chapter of that Church, gave Orders to keep the Doors ſhut. But they were ſoon obliged to have them opened. Some Companies of the Nobility ſeparated from their Body, and went to inſult the Palaces of thoſe Prelates. They went ſo far as to fire ſeveral Piſtol Shot into their Windows, which ſoon brought them to hear Reaſon.

One would have thought, that an Election, concluded with the Acclamations of fourſcore thouſand Gentlemen, ſhould put an End to the Diſputes, that preceded it; and to conſider the ſmall Number of the oppoſite Party, who had excluded themſelves from the Place of Election, nothing could appear more firmly eſtabliſhed, than the Choice of a great Majority, with the Primate at the Head of them, whoſe Authority of itſelf ought to be admitted in an Interregnum. Nevertheleſs the Diſputes, or rather Outrages, continued more violent than ever: The Election was conteſted, and the

the double Election, contrived at firſt, at laſt took Effect. 1697.

Whilſt the Primate was returning Thanks for the Election of the Prince of *Conti*, the oppoſite Party, who would not have found it ſafe to have proteſted during the Proclamation, improved the Advantage of the Primate's Abſence, and took Meaſures to diſclaim the Choice that had been made. At the Head of this Party, was the Biſhop of *Cujavia*, and the three Crown Generals. Theſe four Lords read publickly a Memorial, preſented to them by the Chevalier *Flemming*, in the Name of the Elector of *Saxony*, his Maſter. The Subſtance of this Memorial was, that the Elector was of a moſt illuſtrious Houſe, that had given ſeveral Emperors to *Germany*, of whom (*Otho*, the third) had raiſed the Duke of *Poland* to the Royal Dignity; that the Elector was young, as not having attained the twenty ſeventh Year of his Age; *Catholick*, as proved by Certificates; Rich, having only one Son, to whom the Electorate of *Saxony* was to deſcend, and conſequently prevent his being of any Charge to the Republick; Liberal, for he would make the Republick a Preſent of ten Millions in ready Money, to diſcharge the Debts of the Crown; Brave, as had appeared upon the *Mein*, the *Rhine*, in *Brabant*, and in *Hungary*, and as he would further demonſtrate, in retaking *Caminiek*, and reuniting *Walachia*,

The *Saxon* Party proteſt againſt the Prince of *Conti*'s Election.

1697. *Walachia*, and *Moldavia*, to the Crown; Great as this Enterprize was, the Elector Young, Rich, Liberal, Brave, promiſed to execute it, with his own Troops, at his own Expence, and would anſwer for the Succeſs of the Enterprize.

The Elector proclaimed. This being read in Contempt of the Rights of the Nation, and the Authority of the Primate, the Biſhop of *Cujavia* nominated *Frederick Auguſtus*, Elector of *Saxony*, King of *Poland*, and grand Duke of *Lithuania*.

Propoſal made to the Primate. On this News, ſome of the Lords repreſented to the Primate, the Neceſſity of reducing the forty Companies, who had retired from the Field of Election. They took Pains to perſuade him, that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to make Uſe of Force, when the leſſer Number would not ſubmit. They agreed that the Remedy was violent but they maintained it neceſſary, when the Evil was of a Nature to endanger the publick Liberty. The Primate might poſſibly have his Views, or rather thro' a Timorouſneſs conformable to his Genius and Character, diſapproved the Propoſal. Thoſe who made it, came into that Prelate's Sentiments with ſo much Facility, that their Advice ſeemed to have more of Oſtentation, than real Bravery in it.

The *Saxon* Party ſing *Te Deum*. The Biſhop of *Cujavia*, after ſinging the *Te Deum* upon the Spot, returned to *Warſaw*, to give Thanks in the Church of St. *John*.

John. All this while there were Bonefires and Illuminations all over the City, and the General of the *Artillery* had ordered the Cannon to be fired, in Celebration of the Prince of *Conti*'s Election. The Biſhops of *Poſnania*, and *Livonia*, opened the Doors of the Church of Saint *John*, for the Biſhop of *Cujavia*, without waiting to be aſked; and the Ceremony concluded with the Benediction of the bleſſed Sacrament, which the Primate had omitted; not being indeed eſſential. 1697.

It was otherwiſe in a Circumſtance, which regarded the Nomination of the Elector of *Saxony*. It was not made in the Field of Election, and was therefore null; which the Biſhop of *Cujavia* did not obſerve, till his Friends took Notice of it, and obliged him to return to the Field next Day, being the twenty Eighth. He there made a new Nomination, which he believed ſufficiently rectified the former Irregularity. He did not ſtop there. At Six the ſame Day, he made the Chevalier *Flemming* aſſume the Title of Envoy Extraordinary, although the Elector his Maſter had not given it him, and ſwear to the *Pacta Conventa*, in the Church of *Warſaw*. The *Pacta Conventa* conſiſted of thirty Articles, amongſt which there was one judged proper to be Secret. Theſe Articles recur ſo often in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, and give Foundation for ſo many

Nullity in the Proclamation of the Elector.

1697. many Diſputes, that it is neceſſary to lay them before the Reader. He may therein obſerve, how different they are from the Elector's Offers before his Proclamation.

Pacta Conventa ſigned by the Chevalier *Flemming*.

Art. I. The Kingdom of *Poland* ſhall be maintained in the Right of electing its Sovereign, and never become Hereditary.

Art. II. No King ſhall be elected, who is not a Member of the *Roman Catholick* Church, and does not ſwear to continue in the ſame Communion.

Art. III. Liberty of Conſcience ſhall continue inviolable, and for what concerns the *Greek* Church, it ſhall be conſidered at the Diet of the Coronation.

Art. IV. No Sum of Money, or Preſent ſhall be taken from thoſe, who ſhall ſolicite any Publick Employment, or Staroſty.

Art. V. The Queen ſhall not intermeddle in any Affairs of State.

Art. VI. In Regard to the Adminiſtration of Military Affairs, the Example of *Uladiſlaus* IV. and *John Caſimir* ſhall be followed.

Art. VII. The Alliances ſhall be renewed.

Art. VIII. The King ſhall endeavour to recover the *Ukraine*, and to conclude a perpetual Peace with *Muſcovy*.

Art. IX. The Revenues of the Mints ſhall not be applied to the King's particular

Advantage

Advantage, nor any Money ſtampt without the Conſent of the Republick. 1697.

Art. X. No Foreign Troops ſhall be introduced into the Kingdom without the Concurrence of the Republick.

Art. XI. Only Gentlemen of conſiderable Fortunes ſhall be employed in Embaſſies.

Art. XII. No Perſon ſhall be qualified for Naturalization, that has not rendered important Services to the Republick.

Art. XIII. No Perſon ſhall be qualified for the Adminiſtration of the King's Houſhold, who has not rendered great Services to the Crown.

Art. XIV. No Perſon ſhall be qualified, not even with the Conſent of the Senate, to enjoy the leſſer Revenues of the Crown, without the Approbation of the Republick.

Art. XV. No Perſon ſhall hold two conſiderable Offices, ſuch as Marſhal and General, at the ſame Time: But thoſe who are in the preſent Poſſeſſion of Offices, ſhall continue in Employment, and enjoy their Revenues without any Diminution.

Art. XVI. The Method or Order uſually followed in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, ſhall be preſerved entire.

Art. XVII. When *Caminiek* ſhall be retaken, the King ſhall fortify it at his own Expences, but the Republick ſhall keep it in Repair ever after.

Art. XVIII.

1697. Art. XVIII. The King's Court, and Guard ſhall be compoſed of Natives of the Kingdom.

Art. XIX. If the King marries, he ſhall take Advice of the Senate, in the Choice of his Conſort: If ſhe be a Stranger, ſhe ſhall not have above ſix Foreigners in her Court.

Art. XX. Only the *Latin* and *Poliſh* Languages ſhall be uſed in the King's Letters.

Art. XXI. In the Trials, called *Poſt Curialia*, the Laws called *Pacta Henricea* ſhall be obſerved, and when any Difficulty ſhall ariſe, it ſhall be regulated by the Opinion of the Counſellors Aſſeſſors.

Art. XXII. As ſoon as poſſible the Differences ſhall be concluded, which ſubſiſt.

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Art. XXIII. No new OEconomy ſhall be introduced at the King's Table; but the ancient ſhall be exactly obſerved.

Art. XXIV. The Places vacant, when the Diets are not aſſembled, ſhall be filled up in ſix Weeks.

Art. XXV. The Militia ſhall be regulated in ſuch Manner at the approaching Coronation, that there ſhall be no Occaſion for foreign Troops; and Care ſhall be taken, that Military Diſcipline be exactly obſerved.

Art. XXVI. Salt ſhall be taxed, and diſtributed into all the Palatinates according to ancient Cuſtom.

Art.

Art. XXVII. Every Gentleman ſhall be exempted from the Duty upon Salt, and have free Poſſeſſion of Mines. 1697.

Art. XXVIII. The antient Liberties of the Palatinates ſhall remain inviolable.

Art. XXIX. Regales, *(certain Fiefs held under the Crown)* ſhall be reeſtabliſhed in Places, where they have been aboliſhed.

Art. XXX. All the Privileges of the Univerſity of *Cracow*, and other Cities, as well Eccleſiaſtick as Secular, and all Articles agreed, upon Oath at the Coronation of the Kings, *Henry*, *Stephen*, *Sigiſmond*, *Uladiſlaus*, *John Caſimir*, and others, ſhall be renewed in this Election; and in Caſe of Violation, the Inhabitants of *Poland*, and *Lithuania*, ſhall be free and diſcharged from all Obedience.

Great Offence was taken at the Biſhop of *Cujavia*, for having received in Preſence of the Sacrament expoſed, the Oath of an Envoy, a *Calviniſt*. *James Halecki*, great Huntſman of *Podlachia*, and *Martin Grazewſki*, Under-Chancellor of *Wilna*, oppoſed this Act in vain. *Sabres* were drawn upon thoſe Gentlemen, and the Prelate was ſaid, inſtead of preventing the Diſorder, to call out, that they might be killed. The Nuncio had the Courage to blame in Publick a Scandal of this Kind, but as he was entirely in the Diſorders at ſigning it.

1697. Elector's Intereſt, he took no Care to require further Satisfaction.

Difficulty of deciding which of the Elections was legal.

This double Election, which gave two Kings to *Poland*, far from terminating the Diſpute, left the Crown undecided between the two Competitors. If we refer to the different Accounts, publiſhed at that Time, it would not be eaſy to ſay, which of the Elections was legitimate, nor which Side had the Majority, ſo much Pleaſure have different Writers taken to diſguiſe the Truth on both, and to relate Things agreeably to the Intereſt of that Prince, whoſe Party they favour'd. The Prince of *Conti*'s Friends tell us, that Prince was elected by twenty Eight Palatinates, whereas the Elector of *Saxony* was nominated only by four, amongſt which were ſome Senators, and Caſtellans. The Elector's Partiſans on the contrary advance, that the Prince of *Conti* was nominated by fourſcore Standards only, and the Elector by an hundred and fifty, but that the Primate proclaimed the Prince of *Conti* before the Voices were collected. Yet if Regard be had to the Biſhop of *Cujavia*'s Letter to the Primate, and the Time when it was wrote, the Queſtion ſeems to be decided. It further appears, there were Nullities in the Elector of *Saxony*'s Proclamation, of which its having been made by a Biſhop, was without Doubt not

not the leaſt. Certain it is, the Proclamation was illegal; but neither the Validity of Election, nor any Nullity was to decide it, as we ſhall find in the next Book. 1697.



THE HISTORY OF POLAND UNDER AUGUSTUS II.

Book II.

1697. The two Parties endeavour to ſupport the double Election.

THE two Parties, intent upon the double Proclamation, took each of them their Meaſures to ſupport what they had done. It was neceſſary to determine, to which of the Princes

ces elected, the Crown ſhould be given. For which Reaſon they agreed upon a Conference with each other, upon the 28th, at which the principal Lords of both Parties aſſiſted. *Albert Denohoff*, Biſhop of *Przmilia*, High Chancellor of the Crown, opened the Meeting with a Speech not equally agreeable to each Faction. 1697.

After this Diſcourſe, each Side appointed their Deputies. Thoſe for the Prince of *Conti* demanded, that according to Law, neither of the Competitors ſhould enter the Kingdom, ſend Troops into it, ſeize any Town, or propoſe to be crowned, before the Republick in a ſecond Diet ſhould decide which of the Pretenders ſhould mount the Throne. But as the *Saxon* Party reſolved to take Advantage of the Prince of *Conti*'s Abſence, and the near Approach of the Elector, their only Anſwer to their Adverſaries Propoſal was an abſolute Refuſal. The *French*, ſaid they, intend to get Time, and the *Saxons* will not loſe it. The Conference broke up the fifth of *July*.

The Primate's Deſign was to refer the Deciſion of this Difference to a ſecond Diet. But when he ſaw his Project diſappointed, he wrote to the Elector of *Saxony*, that the Diet with an almoſt unanimous Conſent had elected *the moſt ſerene Prince*, Francis Lewis *of* Bourbon, *Prince of* Conti. But as the

The Primate's Letters to the Elector of *Saxony*.

1697. inferior Party in the Oppoſition, ſupported by the three Crown Generals, in Contempt of the Rights of the Nation, and the primatial Authority, which ought alone to take Place during an Interregnum, preſumed illegally upon their Election in Favour of his Highneſs, he was under the Neceſſity of declaring, that it neither was, nor had been, the Intention of the Republick, to lay the arduous Weight of the Crown upon him, whilſt he was ſo glorioufly employed againſt the common Enemy of the Chriſtian Name. He added, we therefore moſt earneſtly entreat your Electoral Highneſs, not to accept as the general Conſent, a Nomination made only by a few, and we conjure you by that Generoſity ſo natural to the Greatneſs of your Mind, and the Quality of our good Neighbour, not to diſturb our free Election, but to leave us in Tranquillity with our King, and be perſwaded, that neither the Conſent nor Aſſiſtance of our three Generals can be of any Advantage to your Highneſs, *&c.*

Who refuſes to receive it.

It is eaſy to judge the Elector of *Saxony* was little inclined to pay any Regard to the Requeſt and Remonſtrances of the Primate. He would not ſo much as receive his Letter, under Pretext of its not giving him the Title of Majeſty, a Stile, he added, not to be denied him, after his having received Advice of his Election.

The

The Primate wrote with no better Succeſs to the Emperor, and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*. His Letters to thoſe Princes were only to ſignify the Election of the Prince of *Conti*, and that he ſhould obſerve entirely the Treaties concluded with them. The Elector made Anſwer, that he ſaw with Pain the Diviſions of the Republick, and to ſhew how ſenſible he was of thoſe Differences, offered his Mediation. The Emperor was more expreſs in Regard to the Election. * " It does " not belong to us, ſaid he, to adviſe the " Cardinal and *Poliſh* Nobility, nevertheleſs " we ſhould be well pleaſed, they would ac- " knowledge the King of *Poland*, (mean- " ing the Elector of *Saxony)* as it is neceſ- " ſary they ſhould. 1697. The Primate writes to the Emperor and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*.

The little Appearance of compoſing the Difference, obliged the Primate to propoſe under Hand, that there ſhould be a new Election. Thoſe who had not eſpouſed any Party, or were not very firm to that they had engaged themſelves, very readily gave into this Motion. They flattered themſelves that this would be a Means to prevent the unhappy Conſequences of a Diviſion, ſo contrary to the Intereſt of the Republick. But this new Expedient being rejected by the Elector's Partiſans, the Diet broke up the Eleventh of *July*, with- His Propoſals to the oppoſite Party.

* *Non noſtrum eſt dare conſilium Domino Cardinali & aliis Nobilibus Polonis; tamen optaremus ut amici fierent Regis Poloniæ, quando quidem aliter fieri non poteſt.*

1697. out coming to any Reſolution in Reſpect to the new Election.

The double Election divides the whole Kingdom.

A double Election could not be more ſtrongly diſtinguiſhed. In the Palatinates who had proclaimed the Prince of *Conti*, every Thing went in his Name; and thoſe who had nominated the Elector of *Saxony* behaved in the ſame Manner. Each Party endeavouring in Oppoſition to the other, to ſupport their own Election. When the Cardinal Primate ſummoned a Diet of Confirmation, for the 26th of *Auguſt* following, the Biſhop of *Cujavia* on the other Side appointed the fifteenth of *September* for the Elector's Coronation, and the ſixth of *Auguſt* for the Diets to precede it.

Proteſt of the Prince of *Conti*'s Party.

Theſe Meaſures of the *Saxon* Party, obliged the contrary Faction to publiſh, on the twenty fifth of *July*, a ſolemn Proteſt againſt the Elector of *Saxony*'s Nomination, as made by the Biſhop of *Cujavia*, in Contempt of the Laws of the Kingdom, without Conſent of the Republick, and in Prejudice of the primatial Authority. The principal Bent of this Proteſt was to render the Elector's Converſion ſuſpected; and it was added, that the *Pacta Conventa* that Prince had ſworn to obſerve, was prepared without Authority by the Chevalier *Flemming*. As to Prince *James*'s Partiſans, they were accuſed of having taken Meaſures, in Concert with ſome of the Senate, to diſturb the Tranquillity of the

the State, to have ſowed Diſſenſion in many of the Palatinates, to have prevented by Promiſes or Threats, many of the Senators from joining the well affected Party, and to have openly protected the Authors and Promoters of the Confederacy of the Army, in oppoſing the neceſſary Enquiries; and after having enlarged to the utmoſt upon the Deficiences in the Elector's Nomination, concluded with declaring his Election null and void. 1697.

This Proteſt was dated the 25th of *July*, and was made before the Magiſtrates of the Palatinate of *Rava*; thoſe of *Warſaw* having refuſed to receive it. *Uladiſlaus Kroſnous*, and *Alexander Magruiſki*, Nuncio's of the Palatinate of *Lencicia*, were charged with the Execution of this Act. They proteſted as well in their own Names, as for Cardinal *Radziewſki*, Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, Primate of *Poland*, the Archbiſhop of *Leopold*, and ſeveral other Biſhops; for *Caſimire John Sopieha*, Palatine of *Wilna*, great General of *Lithuania*, *Adrian Sieniowſki*, Palatine of *Belts*, *Uladiſlaus Prziemſki*, Caſtellan of *Kaliſch*, *Alexander Felix Lipſki*, Caſtellan of *Siradia*, and for many other Palatines, Caſtellans, Officers, and Nuncio's, againſt *Staniſlaus*, *Jablonowſki*, Caſtellan of *Cracow*, Great General of the Crown, and *Felix Potoſki*, Palatine of the ſame City, Under-General and the other Under-General of the Crown, *Joſeph Sluſka*, Under-General of Lords who ſigned it.

1697. of *Lithuania*, *Staniſlaus Dabſke*, Biſhop of *Cujavia*, and other Senators and Officers, their Adherents.

Errors of the Prince of *Conti*.

The Prince of *Conti* might have aſſured himſelf of Succeſs had he haſtened his Arrival, and ſent his Money. Thoſe Circumſtances would have given great Weight to his Party, but he delayed his coming too long, and his Remittances did not appear. His Friends grew cold in Conſequence, ſome prevailed on by the Elector's Money, abandoned him; others more conſtant, declared to the *Abbe Polignac*, they could wait the Reſult of his Promiſes 'till the 31ſt of *July*, and no longer, and that the Lords who had ſigned the Act of Election, had not undertaken to perſevere beyond that Time.

By what occaſioned.

The Embaſſador of *France* had before diſpatched two Couriers, but the firſt had ſpoiled all, by adding Circumſtances foreign to his Inſtructions. When he was queſtioned concerning the double Election, to make his Account more agreeable, he replyed there was nothing to fear, and that it was highly probable at that Inſtant, the Diviſion ſubſiſted no longer. To the Prince of *Conti*, enquiring whether it was neceſſary to haſten his Journey, his fooliſh Anſwer was, that he might ſafely wait 'till the Embaſſy from the Republick ſhould arrive, with this Addition, that the Elector of *Saxony*'s Party could not ſupport it ſelf long.

The

The Court of *France* looked upon this as a Truth to be relyed on: But Things had another Face the next Day, when the Copy of the Elector of *Saxony*'s Letter to his Miniſter at the *Hague*, to ſignify his Election, appeared. People were ſurprized it did not mention the Prince of *Conti*'s Election, and ſome Letters from *Dantzick* ſtill encreaſed their Aſtoniſhment. There was no knowing what to make of the News, and every Body waited with Impatience the Embaſſador's Arrival, whom the firſt Courier perſiſted to aſſure them would come, tho' no Body was appointed for that Commiſſion. 1697 Court of *France*'s Miſtake.

The ſecond Courier arrived at the Court of *France* the ſixteenth of *July*, and brought an Account of the State of the Diviſion. He repreſented how neceſſary the Prince's Preſence was, and that it was an Error to expect the coming of an Embaſſy, which the War made almoſt Impracticable. The Affair being thus explained, the Prince prepared for his Journey. However, it was thought conſiſtent to wait till the Primate ſhould at leaſt notify his Election. By which Means the third Courier, diſpatched the 18th of *July*, who did not arrive till the 9th of *Auguſt*, found the Prince ſtill at *Paris*. He brought a Letter from the Primate, with the Act of Election ſigned by that Prelate, the Archbiſhop of *Leopold*, and the other Biſhops in the Party of *France*, except the Is ſet right.

1697. the Bishop of *Cracow*, who had absented himself, under the Excuse of his great Age. The great Officers of the Crown, and *Lithuania*, the Palatines and Castellans had also signed that Instrument, except the great Marshal *Lubomirski*, who stood Neuter, and the Vice-Chancellor *Tarlo*, who had taken Party with the Elector.

P. of *Conti*'s Delay prejudicial to him. But as the destined Period *July* 31 was past, the Prince thought he should expose himself too much in taking the Journey. He resolved therefore to wait the farther Explication of Circumstances so much embroiled. It was, however, high Time for him to set out, and to remit the Money, as the Event demonstrated. The Shortness of the Term assigned the *Abbe Polignac*, seemed to be only a Menace to hasten the Prince's Departure, and the Return of the Money. The Zeal of his Party rekindled upon the News of the Elector's having entered the Kingdom, and taken Measures to secure himself the Crown by Force. Their Adherence to the Prince went farther than could be expected, and if it failed of Success, the Prince's Want of Diligence and the Primate's Want of Vigour were alone in Fault.

Efforts of the *French* Ministers. The *Abbe Polignac* and *Chateauneuf* had nothing to reproach themselves. They spared no Endeavours to animate such as were firm to the *French* Interest, to encourage those who might despond, and to fix such as

as their Adverſaries tried to corrupt. A particular Circumſtance favoured their Applications, in giving them an Opportunity of gaining Time, the only Refuge they had. The Elector of *Brandenburgh*, as we have ſeen, had offered his Mediation in Anſwer to the Primate's Letter. The Hopes of finding ſome Advantage from the Length of the Treaty, as well as Reſpect for a neighbouring Prince, occaſioned the Acceptance of his Offer, and Conferences were held accordingly. 1697.

They began the 9th of *Auguſt*. In them the Elector of *Saxony* propoſed Conditions which ſufficiently explained how little he inclined to Accommodation. It was firſt demanded in his Name, that the Diet of Confirmation ſhould not be held, or if it ſhould not be judged proper to countermand it, that the Primate ſhould oblige himſelf, by a proper Inſtrument, to nominate in it the Elector of *Saxony*, inſtead of the Prince of *Conti*. In the ſecond Place it was required, that the Primate ſhould iſſue his Proclamation, for aſſembling the petty Diets to precede the Diet of Coronation. Upon theſe Conditions, that Prince engaged, not to be crowned by the Biſhop of *Cujavia*, to date his Election only from the Day it ſhould be confirmed by the Diet, to ſign ſuch *Pacta Conventa*, as ſhould be requiſite, and to pay in ready Money to the Chiefs, and Lords of the oppo- Conference between the two Parties.

1697. ſite Party, the Sum of eight Hundred fourſcore and twelve thouſand Crowns, to be divided amongſt them as they ſhould think fit.

The Anſwer of the oppoſite Party to theſe Offers, did not imply their being much diſcouraged. The 15th of *Auguſt* the Cardinal Primate delivered in Writing, to the Miniſter of that Prince, his Anſwer to the ſeveral Propoſitions which had been made. He therein declared as well in his own, as the Names of the Lords, who ſupported the Prince of *Conti*'s Election, that the Oppoſition to the Elector of *Saxony*'s Nomination, did not reſult from any Averſion to his perſon, that they paid due Reſpect to his Birth, and other great Qualities, but that it was founded in their Zeal for the *Roman Catholick* Religion, for which, as well as in Defence of their Liberty, they were ready to ſhed their Blood, whilſt the contrary Party daily omitted Nothing, that might ſubvert the Laws of the Kingdom. In another Place he repreſented, that the fundamental Laws of the Nation required, that not only the King, but the Queen Conſort ſhould, before the Coronation, profeſs the *Roman Catholick* Religion; two Conditions agreed to by the Elector before his Nomination, and ſince by his Embaſſador, at his ſwearing the *Pacta Conventa*, upon Pain of Nullity of Election: But tho' they ſhould believe that Prince's

Converſion ſincere, it was certain, the Electreſs perſiſted in the *Calviniſtick* Religion, and therefore they could not in Conſcience conſent to the Coronation of the Elector; to theſe Repreſentations they added other Demands; that the Elector with his Troops ſhould depart the Kingdom; that he ſhould ſend from the Frontiers, to claim the Crown at the Diet of Confirmation; that he ſhould give new Proofs of his Converſion; that he ſhould renew his Abjuration in Preſence of Biſhops not of his own Party; that the Electreſs ſhould do the ſame; and that he ſhould renounce the Act of his Nomination, *&c.* All theſe Articles being previouſly executed, and his own Offers made good, it was agreed that the Affair of the Election ſhould be again taken into Conſideration, and that he ſhould no longer be deemed an Uſurper, but a legitimate Candidate, for whom the Nobility ſhould have the utmoſt Regard. 1697.

Confidence of the Prince of *Conti*'s Party.

This Confidence expreſſed on both Sides, was not without Foundation. What had paſſed in ſeveral Diets, ſummoned by the Biſhop of *Gujavia* for the 6th of *Auguſt*, encouraged the Prince of *Conti*'s Party. Very little Regard was had to that Prelate's Letters. The greater Part of the Gentlemen had complyed with them, only for the Opportunity of proving the Nullity of the *Saxon* Election, and the Irregularity of the Elector's

1697. lector's Proceeding, and would not nominate Deputies for his Coronation. The Diet of *Sroda* carried it ſtill further. The Palatinates which compoſed it, entered into a Confederacy, declared War againſt the Elector, and choſe for their General the Caſtellan of *Kaliſch*, and for their Marſhal *Radomicki*. The Palatinates of *Lencicia* and *Rava*, joined this Confederacy: Beſides which a Courier arrived with Letters to the Primate from the Prince of *Conti*: That Prince after having made his Acknowledgments for the Choice the Republick had made of his Perſon, aſſured him of his Reſolution of coming to place himſelf at the Head of their Troops, and venture his Blood in Defence of their Liberties, as ſoon as he received the News he expected. From whence it appeared, the Prince had not yet received the Act of his Election, ſent him by the third Courier: But there was Reaſon to believe that Act was delivered to him ſoon after the Date of his Letter, which was ſufficient to animate the Courage of his Friends, and keep their Hopes alive.

Embaſſy to offer the Crown to the Elector.

The Elector of *Saxony* on his Part, ſeeing himſelf at the Head of a conſiderable Body of Troops, expected every Thing from his Preſence, his Money, and the Support of his Party. A few Days after his Election, the Biſhop of *Cujavia* ſent an Embaſſy to offer him the Crown. The 3d of *July*, thoſe

thoſe Deputies arrived at *Tarnowitz*, to the Number of ſixty, with a Train of ſeveral thouſand Horſe. They there found the Elector whom three of the principal Deputies harangued, one in the Name of *Poland*, another for *Lithuania*, and the third for the Nobility. 1697.

The Deputies after having been admitted to kiſs the Elector's Hand, were entertained at a ſeparate Table; whilſt he dined at another raiſed on purpoſe, with the Biſhop of *Paſſaw*, the Imperial Embaſſador. It is ſaid the Palatine of *Volhinia*, who harangued that Prince in the Name of *Poland*, taking Offence at his not being placed at the ſame Table, began to condemn himſelf for the Diſcourſe he had made, and believed he had drawn that Contempt upon himſelf by Expreſſions, that implyed Meanneſs and Flattery. And indeed that was every Body's Opinion of his Diſcourſe. It was ſurprizing to hear from the Mouth of a *Poliſh* Lord ſuch Terms, as the Palatine made uſe of. Its Reception.

" Your " Majeſty, ſaid he, has triumphed over the " Turks, triumph again in the Hearts of the " *Poliſh* Nation. Let thoſe Hands, accuſtomed to Victory over the Infidels, receive the " Crown we offer. The People who give " you their Suffrages, give them to a Prince, " whom *Rome* regards as her Defender, and " Chriſtendom as it's Bulwark; to a Prince, " whoſe First Embaſſador's Speech.

1697. " whoſe Experience, Abilities, Exploits
" and Victories, muſt make him the Eſteem
" of all Mankind." He went on with ſaying,
" In abandoning the Errors of your Coun-
" try, you have found Crowns amongſt
" Strangers. God has opened your Heart
" by his Spirit, and we open you the Gates
" of our Kingdom. Several excellent Prin-
" ces of the higheſt Merit, who aſpired to
" the Crown, have preſented themſelves
" Candidates, ſince we were deprived of our
" King: But you alone brought God into
" the Diſpute, you alone began with the
" Lord - - - - We know not, ſaid he in
" a lower Voice, whether it is more your
" Will or your Right to be our King. You
" were ſo however, without knowing it.
" True Happineſs conſiſts in the Merit of
" poſſeſſing it, and to be unconſcious of
" ſuch Merit. - - - - He continued, " We
" read this Day in the general Joy the In-
" dulgence of Heaven in this Effect of its
" Providence, which deſcends to preſide
" amongſt us. For this Cauſe our Repub-
" lick, now yours, whoſe Fame is ſo ex-
" tenſive, reveres you, cheriſhes you with
" its entire Affection, and deſires you as the
" Perſon whom they have choſen for their
" King, or rather whom God hath elected
" to rule over them, and whom we receive
" with gladneſs. He added, come then,
" bleſt Prince, ſince God has decreed it ſo,

" ſince *Poland* ſo ardently deſires it, ſince " *Germany* approves it, ſince *Europe* ap- " plauds it; in a Word, ſince all the World, " except the Barbarians, ſhare in the gene- " ral Joy, and join in Acclamations. For " you Chriſtendom prepares immortal Fame, " *Aſia* its Spoils, and *Poland* its Diadem, " covered with Lawrels. He concluded with ſaying, " We bleſs what we have ſeen, " we publiſh what you are, and the Hopes " we entertain of ſo great a Prince. In fine, " we will declare your Glory to the Nati- " ons around, and all the World ſhall be " filled with your Renown and Majeſty. 1697.

Who is appointed General of the Electors Troops.

After the Entertainment, the Company repaired to the Camp of the *Saxons*, where the Elector reconciled the Palatine of *Volhinia*, by appointing him General of his Troops. That Prince ſet out the 25th from *Tarnowitz*, and arrived the next Day at *Pukari*. He there the 27th renewed his Abjuration, in the *Jeſuits* Church, to the Biſhop of *Samogitia*; was preſent at the Maſs, celebrated by that Prelate, and received the Sacrament from him. Towards the Cloſe of the Maſs, he ſwore the *Pacta Conventa*; after which the *Te Deum* was ſung. On the 28th he gave an Entertainment to the Imperial Embaſſador, and the principal Lords of the Deputation in the Caſtle of the Biſhop of *Cracow*. A conſiderable Number of Gentlemen came thither

1697. to pay their Court, whom he received as his dear and good Friends, and told them you have elected me for your King, you are come to preſent me the Crown, you have invited me hither, and I am come. For Love of you I have quitted my State and my Country, not with the Deſign to be expenſive to you, but to bring with me Plenty, my Wealth, my Arms, and all my Power; to advance as much as poſſible the Glory, and the Honour of your Nation, in combating its Enemies, and particularly the Enemies of the Chriſtian Name. The Prince further aſſured them, that he would never draw his Sword, but in Defence of their Liberties, and the Authority repoſed in him.

That Prince's Speech to the Nobility.

His Approach to *Cracow*.

The Elector continued on the 29th his March towards *Cracow*, and on the 31ſt arrived at the Gates of that City. He did not think proper to make his Entry at that Time, and ſtopped at the Royal Palace of *Lobzow*, ſituate in the Suburbs. *Francis Lubomirſki* Staroſt of *Olſztin*, who had inhabited there ſome Time, was obliged to leave the Houſe not being ſtrong enough to diſpute the Poſſeſſion. He was however ſufficiently ſo, to break up the petty Diet of the Palatinate of *Cracow*, and had the Courage to return into that Capital with the Nobility, without waiting upon the Elector. From thence he went to *Warſaw*, where he encouraged the Prince of *Conti*'s Party, who were alarmed at

at the Elector's being at *Cracow*. Can you fear, ſaid he, at this Diſtance a Perſon whom neither my Friends nor me were afraid of, when we were cloſe to him. What prevented the Elector's making his Entry into the City was, becauſe Count *Wielopolſki*, Governour of the Caſtle, refuſed to ſurrender it; pretending that the Duty of his Office obliged him not to give it up, but to ſuch King, as the Nobility ſhould unanimouſly approve. He was ſummoned in vain, Threats did not terrify him, but five thouſand Crowns in ready Money, and a Bracelet given his Wife put all thoſe vigorous Reſolutions to flight. After this Atchievement the Elector made his Entry into the Capital, where he immediately held a great Council. Opinions differed in it. A ſmall Number of Lords were warm for forcing the Primate, and reducing the reſt of the Kingdom; or at leaſt for advancing to *Warſaw*, to prevent the Aſſembling of the Diet, ſummoned for the 26th of *Auguſt*. Others more moderate were of Opinion, that it was better to wait the Iſſue of the Diet, to continue however at the Capital, and to repair and improve its Fortifications, as much as the Time would admit. This Advice was followed as the ſafeſt. In Caſe the oppoſite Party ſhould come to any violent Reſolutions, ſuch a Conduct would ſupply the Opportunity of a ſafe Retreat. *Sileſia* was but a Day's March diſtant, where

1697.

Holds a great Council there.

1697 the Elector would be out of the Reach of Danger.

Does not approve their Reſolution. The Elector was perhaps the only Perſon who did not approve this Reſolution. He declared, that he expected to have found more Vigour in Perſons, ſo well inclined to acknowledge him their Sovereign. His Fortitude did not fail to give Occaſion for abundance of Encomiums. To act agreeably to which he was told it was neceſſary to introduce foreign Troops into the Kingdom, to gain by Liberality the ſecond Claſs of the Nobility, and to ſend as ſoon as poſſible their Pay to the Crown Army. The Elector reliſh'd this Advice. To engage the Army in his Intereſt, he judged an important Point.

Diſtributes two Millions among the Troops. To which purpoſe he ſent two Millions to the Caſtellan of *Culm*, and the Palatine of *Cracow*, to be diſtributed among the Troops. *Przependowſki*, in the Diſtribution of this Money, told the *Towarzizs*, or Life-Guards: "You ſee, we give you the Money, which "*France* promiſes you.

Effect of his Liberality. This Liberality could not fail to debauch a conſiderable Part of the Army. A Number of Companies with *Potoſki*, great Huntſman of the Crown at their Head, went over to the Elector. Notwithſtanding which, to the great Aſtoniſhment of *Europe*, the reſt of the Army fiercely refuſed ſo much as to look upon the Money offered them, and continued firm to the Intereſt of a Prince, who

who gave them only Promiſes. Twelve Commiſſaries of the Army had actually been three Weeks at *Warſaw*, without obtaining any Thing at the Expiration of that Term, but a Continuation of ever diſtant Hopes, and fair Profeſſions without Conſequence. 1697.

The *Abbe Polignac* laboured with his whole Addreſs, to keep the reſt of the Army in the Party of *France*, and to reaſſure the *Poliſh* Lords, who began to be diſcouraged. Tho' an undertaking of this Nature was difficult without Money, he found Means to bring it to bear, and the 24th of *Auguſt*, had the Conſolation to ſee his Applications ſucceſsful. The Prince of *Conti*'s Party aſſembled that Day in the Caſtle of *Winſdow*, where they deſired the Embaſſador's Preſence. Notwithſtanding the Conſternation occaſioned by the Prince's Abſence, and the Delay of the Remittances, that Miniſter's wiſe Precautions received due Praiſe. Among other Things, they commended his having entertained the Palatine of *Wilna*'s Regiment of Foot, from the Time of the Election, to guard the Bridge of Boats upon the *Viſtula*, which preſerved the Communication of *Poland* and *Lithuania*. But as he ſeem'd without Hopes, after having pledged his Jewels, he was aſked, to what Expedient he would next have Recourſe againſt the preſent Danger, from the Want of Money. That able Miniſter was not at a Loſs Meaſures of the French Embaſſador.

1697. for his Anſwer. He propoſed two Things, which both tended to attach the *Partiſans* of *France* more firmly to its Intereſts. The firſt conſiſted in making a ſecond Proclamation of the Prince of *Conti*'s Election, the other in forming a Confederacy, to declare War againſt the Elector.

He makes two Propoſals.

The firſt rejected.

It was with great Difficulty the firſt of theſe Propoſitions was agreed to. However after ſtrong Debates, it was reſolved, that if before the Opening, or during the Continuance of the Diet, Advice ſhould come of the Prince of *Conti*'s ſetting out for *Poland*, they ſhould make no farther Queſtion of agreeing with the Embaſſador's Demand: But if that Prince ſhould not come, it would be better to ſuppoſe the firſt Election valid. In Reality there was no great Advantage to be hoped from a ſecond Proclamation; on the contrary it might have given Room to imagine, its being only made to rectify the Defects of the firſt. What was ſurprizing, the ſecond Propoſal of much greater Importance met with no Difficulty. It was reſolved to make a *Rokozs* or Confederacy, and to declare War againſt the Elector as an Uſurper.

The ſecond received.

The Diet of Confirmation aſſembles.

The Diet however, which was to confirm the Election, the Republick ſhould deem conformable to its Laws, convened. This Sort of Diets are called in the *Poliſh* Language *Poparcia*. It opened the 26th of *Auguſt*

guſt in the Field of Election near *Warſaw*, with a Speech made by the Sieur *Bielinſki*, great Chamberlain of the Crown, and Marſhal of the Diet. He ſaid, he deſired nothing ſo much as to ſignalize his Zeal for the publick Service, that in ſo urgent a Danger, if all the Nobility would unite, he would do his utmoſt to ſupport their Meaſures, but without a Confederacy he could have no Concern, having taken an Oath to obey the Laws, without adhering to any Party. He afterwards made great Complaint of the Violences committed by the Elector and his Adherents, particularly their having ſeized the Town and Caſtle of *Cracow*, an evident Attempt as well upon the Liberty, as the Religion of the Republick. 1697.

Violence committed againſt the Elector of *Saxony*'s Party.

In this Aſſembly were ſeveral of the Elector's Party, whoſe coming thither, was only with Deſign to diſſolve the Diet by proteſting. As ſoon as the Marſhal had finiſh'd his Diſcourſe, *Danowſki*, Nuncio of *Wilſki* more reſolute than the reſt, began to ſpeak. He aſked the meaning of calling the Diet of *Poparcia*; as the Nation had proclaimed the Elector of *Saxony*. He had prepared to enlarge upon the Occaſion, when about ſix thouſand Gentlemen drew their Sabres. He knew the Danger into which he had raſhly thrown himſelf, and endeavoured to ſave himſelf by Flight; but was purſued out of the Field of Election, received ſeveral Wounds, and

1697. and was left for dead in the Arms of his Friends, who had not dared to take his Defence upon themſelves. *Danowſki* did not die of his Wounds, as was given out. He recovered, but loſt the Uſe of his Limbs, and was disfigured in ſuch a Manner, as made him a Spectacle of Horror. All who had Orders to ſupport that Nuncio's Proteſt, were terrifyed by this Uſage of him. They were afraid ſo much as to whiſper their Intention, and ſtole away at their firſt Opportunity.

Primate's Speech. The Primate made alſo a Speech, in which he explained the Reaſons that ought to engage them to ſupport the Prince of *Conti*'s Election. He took Pains to prove, that it was conformable to the Laws of the Realm, and advantagious to the publick Good, and the Safety of the Kingdom. He afterwards ordered that Prince's Letter to him to be read, in which he declared the ſole Motive of his delaying his Journey, was his not having received any Letter from the Republick. The ſame Reaſon prevented his aſſuming the Title of King of *Poland*, becauſe only the Republick had a Right to confer it, and of inviting him into a Kingdom, of which they had thought him worthy to be the Head. After the Receipt of this News, added the Prince, which I attend with the utmoſt Impatience, your Eminence may be aſſured, I ſhall repair with the utmoſt Diligence to the Place, where my Duty calls me,

me, and I ſhall uſe my whole Endeavours to make thoſe ſenſible, who have done me the Honour of ſo glorious a Choice, that I am not unworthy of it, and that it is my Reſolution to employ the reſt of my Life, and to ſhed the laſt Drop of my Blood for the Augmentation of their Glory, and Defence of their Liberty. 1697.

After this Letter was read, the Diet with unanimous Conſent, confirmed the Prince of *Conti*'s Election, and promiſed to ſupport it at the Hazard of their Lives. The 27th they came to no Reſolution, the *Abbe Polignac* expecting Diſpatches, that did not arrive. That Day the Marſhal deſired to know what Anſwer ſhould be given to ſome Nuncio's, from the Palatinates of *Cracow* and *Sendomir*, who deſired ſafe Conduct for their Perſons, apprehenſive of being treated as the Nuncio *Danowſki* had been. Their Reply was, that if they came to the Diet for the Defence of the Religion, the Laws, and Liberties of the Republick, they would be well received; but if they preſumed to diſturb the Aſſembly with unſeaſonable Proteſts, they might expect to be anſwered in the ſame Style with that Nuncio. Prince of *Conti*'s Election confirmed.

The 28th the Primate, who obſerved their Diſpoſition favoured his Deſigns, propoſed a *Rokozs*, or general Confederacy. He repreſented on one Side, their Liberty violated by the Elector of *Saxony*, and their Religi- Primate propoſes a Confederacy.

on

1697. on in Danger, if that Prince ſhould ſeize upon the Crown; and on the other he obſerved the Moderation of the Prince of *Conti*, who was apprehenſive of the leaſt Appearance of an Attempt upon the national Liberty, of which he would not give the leaſt Room to ſuſpect him. He excuſed the Prince's deferring his Journey, and the Delay of the Remittances, ſometimes inſinuating the Interception, to which Bills of Exchange were liable, and ſometimes the Frauds, which the Merchants of *Dantzick* might commit at the Queen's Inſtigation.

Which is reſolved upon.

The *Rokozs* was therefore reſolved upon, for the Defence of Religion and Liberty; each of them engaging his Faith, Honour and Conſcience to ſupport that Confederacy, and to ſhed the laſt Drop of his Blood in the ſame Sentiments; and that it ſhould not be diſſolved, till the Republick ſhould be reeſtabliſhed in all its Rights and Privileges. And for the better Regulation of Buſineſs, they choſe for Marſhal of the Council, *Stephen de Rycht Humieniſki*, Maſter of the Houſhold of *Podolia*, and appointed two Deputies of each Province for his Council. *Bielinſki* reſigned the Staff of Office to him, reſerving to himſelf the Right of preſenting the *Diploma*, or Act of Election, to the King legally choſen, which was granted.

Difficulty of ſignifying it to the Elector.

In Conformity to the Cuſtom upon like Occaſions, they conſidered upon appointing Deputies

Deputies from the Senate, and Nobility, to represent to the Elector of *Saxony*, the Violation of the Rights and Liberties of the Republick. The Difficulty was to find Persons of Reſolution enough to execute ſo delicate a Commiſſion. The Biſhop of *Kiow*, to remove the Diet's Perplexity upon this Account, offered himſelf to go to *Cracow*, and entreat the Elector in the Name of the *Rokozs*, to retire to his own Country from the Lands of the Republick, and not proceed to the Coronation, intended by the Biſhop of *Cujavia*, becauſe that Ceremony would be concluded of no Effect, as would all Statutes, Declarations, and all other Acts whatſoever made, ſubſiſting the Proteſts, as well before as after the double Election. The Prelate began his Journey to execute this Commiſſion, but upon being apprized, that the Elector's Party prepared to treat him in the ſame Manner, the Prince of *Conti*'s had done *Danowſki*, he judged it raſh to expoſe himſelf to ſo evident a Danger, and inſtead of proceeding returned directly. 1697.

No Body will accept the Command of the *Rokozs*.

The ſame Day the Diet appointed the Palatine of *Wilna*, *Generaliſſimo* of the Republick's Forces; but he excuſed himſelf from accepting that Honour, till the Arrival of the Money for the Subſiſtence of the Troops. The Palatine of *Kiow*, to whom the ſame Employment was offered, refuſed it for the ſame Reaſons. It had been difficult after this to

1697. to have found a Person, that would take it upon him. It was therefore thought proper not to appoint any Body, and resolved that the Prince of *Conti* upon his Arrival, might dispose of that Office, in Favour of whom he should think fit.

Szopa demolished. As soon as the Act of Confederacy was ready, the Primate order'd the *Szopa*, or Enclosure of the Field of Election to be thrown down. On the 29th the Palatine of *Ploſko* was summoned to surrender the Castle of *Warsaw*, of which he was Governor. He made Difficulties in doing it. Upon which the Palatine of *Kiow* ordered twelve Pieces of Cannon to be drawn from the Arsenal, and pointed against the House of that Senator. The Fear of seeing a magnificent Palace demolished, induced him to surrender the Castle, into which the Primate entered with a numerous Train of Followers, and proceeded to hold a Council in the Hall of the Senate. They there read the Act of Confederacy, which the Primate signed first, and afterwards the Palatine of *Wilna*, and the rest of the Senators, the Nuncio's, and the Gentlemen, with the Addition of this Clause, *I promise, engage, and swear to the Performance of the above written.* After which they took the Oath *in Caput & in Animam*, upon Life and Salvation. A Gentleman of the *Saxon* Party having been discovered among the Crowd, they would have

Councils held at *Warsaw*.

have thrown him out of the Window, if he had not had the Addreſs to diſengage from thoſe, who ſeized him, and to throw himſelf at the Feet of the Primate, who, covering him with his Mantle, ſaved his Life. 1697.

The following Days they agreed upon ſeveral Articles to ſupport the Confederacy; and came to a Reſolution to write to the Biſhop of *Cujavia* and *Cracow*, and exhort them, not to expoſe themſelves to the Reſentment of the Republick, in crowning the Elector of *Saxony*, for each Party ſtiled itſelf the Republick, and aſſumed the Authority of acting in the Name of the whole Nation. At the ſame Time the Biſhop of *Kiow*, and the Caſtellan *Zurnowſki* were appointed to communicate to the Army the Reſolutions of the Diet, and to perſuade them to join in the Confederacy. They concluded with deſiring the Primate to haſten his Proclamations, for the aſſembling the *Poſtpolite* the 15th of *September*; in order for the whole Nobility to march againſt the Elector of *Saxony*, if he refuſed to depart the Kingdom. Meaſures of the Confederates.

The Intention at Bottom was leſs to oblige the Elector to remove from the Lands of the Republick, than to prevent the Coronation of that Prince, fixed for the 15th of *September*. The Kings of *Poland* have a Right as ſoon as they are crowned, to diſpoſe of the vacant Employments, of which there was Their Motives.

1697. was at that Time a great Number, thro' the length of the Interregnum, which ſoothed the Ambition of many. It was not doubted, but the Elector upon his Coronation would diſtribute thoſe Offices for which Reaſon they endeavoured to prevent a Ceremony by Force, that had put it into his Power to diſpoſe of them. But if the Prince of *Conti*'s Party were active in taking vigorous Reſolutions, they wanted Ardour to put them in Execution. Beſides the *Saxon* Army was at *Cracow*; thoſe of the Crown and *Lithuania* would not move without their Pay, and the aſſembling the Nobility was difficult for the ſame Reaſon. All which obliged them to prefer Negociation.

Negociation ſet on Foot.

The *Pope*'s Nuncio would have been well ſatisfy'd to have been admitted Arbitrator. But he had declared himſelf too openly for the Elector againſt the Prince of *Conti*, and tho' upon Complaints made of his Behaviour, he had been order'd to obſerve an exact Neutrality, there was no Confidence to be repoſed in him upon that Account. It was looked upon as much more expedient, to accept the Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s Mediation, which had been neglected for ſeveral Weeks paſt. Each Party accordingly appointed their Deputies, and the Conferences begun.

Propoſals of the *French* Party.

The firſt Propoſal, made by the *French* Party, was of the ſame Kind with thoſe, that had

had occaſioned the breaking up of the firſt Conference. Their ſecond Propoſal, tho' more moderate, was no better received; which reduced them to be contented, that the Elector ſhould defer his Coronation, at leaſt till *October*, that they might have Time for the Diſcuſſion of the three principal Points in Queſtion; the diſmiſſion of the *German* Troops; the Converſion of the Electreſs; and the Satisfaction to be made the Primate, for the violent Attempts in prejudice of his Authority. The Elector ſeemed at firſt to reliſh this Expedient. To engage him to come entirely into it, the Chiefs of the *Rokozs* offered a Writing, by which they agreed to acknowledge that Prince as *King*, upon Condition he would not be crown'd till the 30th of *September*. On the other Hand the ſame Lords offered the Primate, to oblige themſelves by another Writing, never to abandon him, provided he would ſign nothing in prejudice of the Prince of *Conti*'s Intereſt. 1697.

The Elector's Council, having deliberated upon theſe Offers, did not give into the Snare. It was reſolved as ſoon as poſſible to ſound the Primate, and to demand his Propoſals in Writing. It was conceived, that if he refuſed, it would be a Proof, they were a Contrivance to gain Time, or if he complyed, they might at a proper Time be made Uſe of againſt himſelf. The Propoſal was made to him, but he excuſed him- Elector's artificial Demand.

1697. ſelf from ſigning any Thing. He urged a great many Reaſons for ſuch Behaviour, and amongſt others, that it was neceſſary to aſſemble the Nobility, in Order to repreſent to them the Diſpoſition of the Elector to ſatisfy the Republick upon it's Grievances. This Refuſal of the Primate's gave Reaſon to conclude, his Deſign was only to amuſe the Council, and give Time to the Prince of *Conti* to arrive in *Poland*. They were highly pleaſed to ſee the *Poles*, contrary to their Cuſtom, prefer the Method of Treaty to that of Arms, and did not fail to make the moſt of a Diſpoſition ſo favourable to the Elector's Intereſt. It was reſolved in that Prince's Council, that his Coronation ſhould be on the 15th of *September*. They were the more inclined to ſuch a Reſolution, becauſe many Lords, and Gentlemen, waited only that Ceremony, to declare in his Favour. Many of the *French* Party diſguſted with bare Promiſes without any Effect, would have been glad of the Coronation's being over. Others wiſhed it for the ſake of Peace and Quiet, and to hear no more of an Affair, whoſe length had made it tedious to them.

His Coronation reſolved.

Such was the Diſpoſition of the greateſt Part of the *French* Faction, when News came to *Warſaw*, that the Elector without Regard to the Conferences ſtill on foot, far from deferring his Coronation, had been crowned *September* 15th, and to add to the

Magnificence of that Coronation, had order'd his Equipages, and Moveables of greateſt Value, to be brought from *Dreſden*. That Prince had indeed upon his Entry into *Cracow*, according to Cuſtom, uſed Means to come at the Royal Ornaments. The Difficulty was not ſmall. Thoſe Ornaments were kept in the Treaſury, of which eight Officers had the Keys, and ſix of the Number were in the Prince of *Conti*'s Intereſt. The Council of *Saxony* reſolved to force a Place that had been always ſacred. However, that they might not ſeem to violate the Law againſt breaking open the Treaſury, it was judged adviſeable, to have a Part of the Wall thrown down. The Breach was entered, and the Ornaments taken away, without any Regard to the Remonſtrances of the Guardian of the Crown, or the Burgraves of *Cracow*.

1697.

Makes his Entry into *Cracow*.

Treaſury broke open.

There were other Difficulties, but removed with the ſame Eaſe. For firſt the King, according to the Laws of the Kingdom, ſhould have been crowned by the Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, Primate of *Poland*. The Elector's Council of four or five Senators, thought fit to declare the Archbiſhoprick of *Gneſna* vacant. In the ſecond Place, the Corps of the late King ſhould have been interred before the Coronation, and they were not in Poſſeſſion of *Warſaw*, where the Royal Body was depoſited. They had however

Difficulties removed.

1697. a Salvo for that alſo, which was to perform his Obſequies in Effigy in the Cathedral Church, with the ſame Magnificence as if that Prince's Body had been actually there.

Coronation of the Elector. All theſe Difficulties being thus removed, the Elector went the 14th according to Cuſtom, to the Church of St. *Staniſlaus*, to do Honour to that Martyr's Memory. The 15th the Day appointed for the Coronation, that Prince, habited in a Cuiraſs, and the Electoral Robes, went about Noon, attended by the Senators, and preceded by *Lubomirſki*, Grand-Marſhal of the Crown, carrying his Staff of Office, from his Apartment to the Church, and mounted a Throne, prepared for him under a Canopy of State in the middle of the Choir. After the Litany the Biſhop of *Cujavia*, aſſiſted by two other Prelates, read the Confeſſion of Faith before that Prince, who fainted away whilſt it was reading. Some attributed this Indiſpoſition to the Length of the Ceremony, others believed the Weight of the Armour and the Electoral Robe might be the Occaſion of it. The Partiſans of *France* imagined, that the News juſt arrived of the Prince of *Conti*'s being ſet out, might have ſome Share in that Diſorder. But it would be perhaps as reaſonable to think that Accident a natural Effect, as it happen'd at one in the Afternoon, a Time of Day, to which it was not that Prince's Cuſtom to faſt. However, there were People

ple who did not fail to make it a Subject of Raillery, aſking, what was become of the *Hercules*, the *Germans* had ſent into *Poland*. 1697.

The Elector being recovered from his Swoon, made his Profeſſion of Faith, to which he ſwore and ſigned, he then received the Sacrament; after which the Biſhop of *Cujavia* placed the Crown on his Head, omitting none of the Ceremonies uſual upon the Occaſion. The greateſt Part of the Crown and *Lithuanian* Officers were abſent, but were repreſented by Proxy, by the *Poliſh*, and even ſome of the *German* Lords. A ſelect Body of the *German* Troops were poſted round the Church during the Ceremony. The next Day the Magiſtrates did their Homage, and out of the twenty four Counſellors who attended upon that Occaſion the Elector made ſix Knights.

Holds the Diet of Coronation.

The ſame Day the Diet of Coronation began to ſit, in which there was no ſmall Confuſion and Diſorder. Nothing was to be heard but Complaints and Diſputes about different Formalities, omitted or neglected. The Invalidity of Deputations was another great Subject of Diſcontent. This Deficiency was however ſoon got over. The Deputies agreed to treat themſelves as regular Nuncio's, tho' perhaps there was not one amongſt them who could aſſume that Title with any Pretence of Right. Their Agree-

1697 ment did not put an End to the Confuſion; the Choice of a Marſhal was a new Subject of Contention, *Zwiſſa* carried it at laſt againſt young Prince *Wieſnowſki*.

Diſturbance in the Diet. Their Tranquillity was further diſturbed, when ſome of the Nuncio's deſired, that the Original *Pacta Conventa* ſhould be laid before them. They aſſerted, that it ought to include in Expreſs Terms, that the Elector ſhould renounce his Right, acquired by the Act of Election, if he cauſed himſelf to be crowned before the Electreſs his Conſort embraced the *Catholick* Religion. The Elector's Anſwer confirmed them in the Truth of this Article, which was that the original Act was loſt. The Nuncio's were not contented with this evaſive Reply. Sixty Gentlemen of the Palatinate of *Sendomir* produced a Copy that had been taken of the *Pacta Conventa*, which the Elector's Council refuſed to admit; and the Caſtellan of *Culm* had the Addreſs to embroil the Affair ſo ſucceſsfully, that it was thought proper to refer the Deciſion to the Month of *February*. In vain did ſeveral Nuncio's proteſt againſt all that had been done before and after the Coronation. The Elector expreſſed an unconcern for thoſe Proteſts, and the Diet it ſelf, tho' called by the Biſhop of *Cujavia*. He looked upon this Stir as a Storm that would blow over of it ſelf: And others made it a Subject of Ridicule. A Paſquinade

Paſquinade.

nade was handed about, containing the Arguments of five Acts of a Comedy acted at *Cracow*. 1. A King without *Diploma*. 2. An Interment without a dead Body. 3. A Coronation without a Primate. 4. A Diet without Nuncio's. 5. Proteſts of no Effect. 1697.

The News, which arrived during theſe Tranſactions, ſpoiled for ſome Time the Mirth of the Elector's Council. Its Subſtance was, that the Prince of *Conti* left *Paris* the 3d of *September* at Night, embarked the 7th at *Dunkirk* aboard a Squadron, commanded by the Chevalier *Bart*, had paſſed the Sound, and brought Troops and conſiderable Sums of Money along with him. But if the Elector's Party had Reaſon to be alarm'd at this Intelligence, it had a quite different Effect upon the Prince of *Conti*'s Friends. The Primate, the General and Council of the *Rokozs* immediately aſſembled, to conſider ſuitable Meaſures. The Primate revoked his Proclamation of Summons for the 6th of *September*, upon the Hopes the Elector had given of referring entirely to the Senſe of the Republick. Inſtead of a general Diet for the 26th of *September*, he iſſued new Proclamations, for three particular Aſſemblies to be held the 20th of *October*, one at *Lencicia* in great *Poland*, under the Command of Count *Uladiſlaus Prziemſki*, Caſtellan of *Kaliſch*; the

Alarm upon the News of the Prince of *Conti*'s Arrival.

Primate proclaims three Aſſemblies.

1697. the second at *Zawichot* in *Poland* the less, under the Direction of *Adam Sieniawski*, Palatine of *Beltz*, and the third at *Grodno*, under the Palatine of *Wilna*.

Motives for those Proclamations.

These Proclamations run in the Nature of Manifesto's, wherein the Primate endeavoured to justify his Conduct, and to render odious that of the Elector of *Saxony*, and his Adherents. He took Pains to prove, he had only acted in Defence of the Liberty of the State and Nobility, and for the re-establishment of the violated Laws. The Elector, whose Maxim it had hitherto been to act, whilst his Adversaries wrote, thought fit at this Time to oppose in Writing, what was published against him. He caused a Sort of circular Letter to be dispersed, in which he asserted, that he did not come to the Crown by any illegal Proceedings; that he had been elected by the Majority of Voices; that he had done nothing since, without the Advice of the Senators and great Lords of the Kingdom, and neglected nothing to reconcile their Divisions, and incline them to Peace and Concord; but that all his Applications having proved ineffectual, he referred the Event to Providence. He concluded with exhorting those, who had elected and crowned him, to join with him in the Support of their Choice, and Defence at once of their Honour and their Liberty.

Elector publishes a circular Letter.

There

There was little Succeſs to be expected on either Side, from the Publication of theſe Writings. In the preſent Poſture of Affairs, Force or Money were the only Means to the Advantage of either Party; of which both the Elector and the Primate, were ſufficiently apprized. The firſt endeavoured by perpetual Liberalities to ſoften Oppoſition, till he ſhould find himſelf in ſufficient Credit to attempt his Eſtabliſhment by Force. The ſecond, weary of ſeeing his Application have no other Conſequence than his Enemy's gaining Ground, determined, but too late, to make Head againſt him. He flattered himſelf, that by the Triple Diets he had ſummoned, he ſhould eaſily defeat the Elector's Enterprizes, prevent him from marching to *Warſaw*, and ſuch Diſorders as had happened at *Proſzowie*. At the meeting of the petty Diet of *Cracow*, ſix *Saxon* Regiments were detached thither, who ſurrounded the Diet, and threatened to cut them to Pieces, if they did not receive the Decree of the Elector's Council, againſt the Primate and the *Rokozs*. It was expected that three Bodies of the Nobility, animated againſt that Prince, and ready to join each other, would make him apprehenſive of being either encloſed or cut off, ſhould he engage in the Centre of the Kingdom. The Primate, the Marſhal, and the *Rokozs*, did not however reckon ſo much upon the Fidelity of thoſe three Aſſemblies

1697.

Elector and Primate's different Meaſures.

1697. Assemblies, as to be without their Apprehensions, both for themselves and *Warsaw*, which was not difficult to penetrate from their Conduct. After the Publication of those Proclamations, they retired to *Lowitz*, taking with them the Palatine of *Wilna*'s Regiment of Foot, which till then had guarded the Bridge of Boats upon the *Vistula*. They also carried thither six hundred Horse, with Artillery and Ammunition, after which they broke the Bridge, that it might not facilitate the Elector's March.

Prince of *Conti* arrives in the Road of *Dantzick*.

By this Time the Squadron, under the Command of the Chevalier *Bart*, of six Ships of War of forty Guns each, with double Stores, and some Troops aboard, came to an Anchor *Sept.* 26th in the Road of *Dantzick*. The Prince of *Conti*, who was aboard this Squadron, was saluted with a Triple Salvo, by the Cannon of the Castle of *Weysselmond*; but was not complimented by the Magistrates of *Dantzick*, whose Ships passed on all Sides of the *French* Squadron without saluting, and they forbad their Boats going on Board that Prince's Vessels. Those Gentlemen had come to a Resolution to declare in Favour of the Elector. They were almost all of them Protestants, and consequently more inclined to a *Roman Catholick* of a few Days standing, than to a Prince of the Blood of *Lewis* the Fourteenth, who

who had taken Pains to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion in his Dominions. 1697.

The 28th the *French* Squadron came to an Anchor before *Oliva*, *(an Abby upon the* Viſtula, *below* Dantzick) where there is a good Port. The Prince of *Conti* received daily the Compliments of the *Poliſh* Nobility. All of them ſaluted him with the Title of King, and Protector of their Liberty; but he had the Moderation to refuſe the firſt of thoſe Appellations, and declared he would not aſſume it, 'till the free and unanimous Conſent of the Republick confirmed it to him. Perhaps he already ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed, his Competitor would carry it againſt him. However it be, he did not land till the 7th of *October*. Three hundred Soldiers of the Troops he brought with him, went aſhore at the ſame Time. The *Abbe Polignac* attended him to Count *Bielinſki*, the great Chamberlain of the Crown's Houſe, where he held a Council. After which he dined in the Country near *Oliva*, with the Biſhop of *Ploſko*, who entertained him magnificently. After Dinner the Prince roſe and drank to the Preſervation of the Liberty of *Poland*, and then returned to his Ship, not judging it proper to paſs the Night on Shore.

He refuſes the Title of King.

Some Days after the Embaſſador of *France* concluded a Treaty with the *Sapieha's*. Upon depoſiting 460000 Livres in the Preſence of

Abbe Polignac treats with the *Sapieha's*.

1697. of the Commiſſaries of *Lithuania*, the great Treaſurer's Son was to come with ten or twelve Companies of Ordnance, to eſcort the Prince where he ſhould think fit. The Treaty further expreſſed, that the great General. and all the Officers of the Army of *Lithuania* ſhould take an Oath of Fidelity, and march with their Troops to ſuch Places as ſhould be aſſigned by the Prince, who would put himſelf at the Head of them, and before they advanced to the Enemy, pay them a like Sum of 460000 Livres. The ſame Miniſter treated alſo with the great Treaſurer of the Crown, and with the Palatines of *Beltz* and *Kiow*, as to what regarded them.

First Propoſal to the Prince of *Conti*.

The Prince of *Conti*'s keeping aboard his Ship was not at all approved. It was propoſed to him to go to *Marienburgh*, where *Dzialinſki* was high Steward, and commanded for his Brother in Law *Bielinſki*. In that Place was a Garriſon of ſeven or eight hundred Men. The Works were at that Time repairing with the utmoſt Diligence, and the Commandant had engaged to provide all Sorts of Ammunition, for a certain Sum of Money, that had been paid him. The Prince did not think it adviſeable to ſhut himſelf up in a Town, nor was it ſafe to rely too much upon *Dzialinſki*, who was known to have a Facility in adhering to the Party that gave moſt.

Another

Another Propoſal, that was made, did not appear more conſiſtent. It was that the Prince ſhould go to *Lowitz*. This was the more practicable, as all the Palatinates in the Way thither were in his Intereſt, and the Nobility upon the Coaſts might be made Uſe of to eſcort him. But upon reflecting that they had no regular Troops, it was thought beſt to wait the Performance of *Sapieha's* Engagements. The Prince did not think it conſiſtent with Prudence, or his Dignity to come on ſhore, and riſque his Perſon in a Kingdom ſo divided, of which his Opponent was in a Manner Maſter. 1697. Second Propoſal.

The Situation of the Elector was in effect very different from that of the Prince of *Conti*. He did not wait the coming up of an Army; he had one under his Command, and had only to reſolve upon its Motions. He had been adviſed to take three different Methods; the firſt was, to march directly to the Crown Army, to prevent by his Preſence and Liberality, its joining the Prince of *Conti*; the ſecond was to go to *Warſaw*, to hinder the three Aſſemblies of the Nobility ſummoned by the Primate's Proclamation from meeting, and to ſurprize the Primate himſelf at *Lowitz*; the third was to go at the Head of all his Troops into *Pruſſia*, to prevent the Prince of *Conti*'s landing, and cut off the Aids he expected. The laſt Advice was follow'd, except that the Elector, inſtead of Councils given the Elector.

1697. taking the Field, contented himſelf with ſending three thouſand Horſe into *Pruſſia*, under the Command of *Galecki*, Caſtellan of *Poſnania*, to whom he had given the Palatinate of *Inowladiſlaw*. The Major Generals *Brandt* and *Flemming*, were joined in Commiſſion with *Galecki*, and had Orders jointly with him to eſtabliſh a Tribunal at *Pietrikow*, the Legality of which the Nobility would not admit, that they might not appear to approve the Elector's Coronation.

Succeſs of the three Aſſemblies ſummoned by the Primate.

The three thouſand Horſe began their March *Oct.* 10. the Day the three Aſſemblies of the Nobility ſummoned by the Primate were to be held. The Aſſembly of *Grodno* was ſufficiently numerous: But there might as well have been none. They were directed in their Conduct by the *Sapieha's*, who promiſed every Thing, but performed Nothing. There was ſcarce any Body at *Zawichot*, becauſe the Palatine of *Beltz* was gone to the Crown-Army, where his Preſence was neceſſary. The Palatine of *Kaliſch* brought about two thouſand Men to *Lencicia*, of which Uſe might have been made, if thro' an unſeaſonable Precaution, that Body of Nobility had not obliged the Primate, and Marſhal of the *Rokozs*, to proclaim again the Prince of *Conti*; for which there was no Occaſion.

The Prince of *Conti* proclaimed again.

After this Proclamation made in the Field of Election, the Aſſembly choſe Embaſſadors

baſſadors out of the Senate and Nobility, with Powers to draw up the *Pacta Conventa*. *Bielinſki*, Marſhal of the Diet of Election, was appointed to preſent the *Diploma* to the Prince of *Conti*. To ſave Time, all this was done at *Lowitz*; *Warſaw* not being eſſential as to Place. 1697.

The Primate was not long without diſcovering his Fault. Upon his leaving *Lowitz*, with Intention to go to *Dantzick*, he received Intelligence, the *Saxons* were in full March to intercept him, and was under the neceſſity of ſhutting himſelf up in his Caſtle; from whence only the Biſhop of *Kiow*, the Caſtellan of *Kaliſch*, and ſome other Perſons of the Embaſſy, with an Eſcort of three hundred *Poliſh*, and one hundred and ſixty of the Palatine of *Wilna*'s Horſe, were ſuffered to depart. It was ſaid that he alſo wrote to the Prince of *Conti*, to deſire him to come to his Relief. But of what Uſe could that Prince's Compliance be, who inſtead of forty thouſand Troops, that promiſed to join him, had hitherto ſeen only a few *Poliſh* Plattoons, who came to offer him their Service? Primate obliged to ſhut himſelf up in his Caſtle.

The Prince is reported never to have had any great Opinion of this Affair. He undertook it rather in Deference to *Lewis* XIV. than from his own Ambition; and in the Train Things were at that Time, it was not difficult for him to foreſee it would not ſucceed. However, that he might not be wanting Prince of *Conti*'s Idea of his Election.

1697. ing to himself in any Thing, he dispatched circular Letters, to inform the Nation, in what he expected from them, and what Succours were necessary for his Service. In these Letters, his Stile was *Duke of* Conti, *and by the Grace of God, and the Affection of the* Polish *Nation, King of* Poland, *and grand Duke of* Lithuania. He told them, the Occasion of his not coming sooner to express his Gratitude, was the Apprehension of acting contrary to the Customs of the Realm; that for the same Reasons, he kept on Board his Ships, and had not brought Troops along with him; that he did not conceive the Elector of *Saxony*'s Coronation could prejudice his Right in any Thing, as what was Null in the beginning could not be made valid in the Consequence; besides, not to mention the Irregularities of the Coronation, it was an indispensable Obligation in the *Pacta Conventa*, that her Highness, the Electress, should have embraced the *Roman Catholick* Religion before the Elector was crowned. To which he added, that for what remained, he reposed an entire Confidence in the *Polish* Nation, and it was his Intention to shun, as far as possible, the Effusion of Blood; that however, in Case of Necessity he would take Care to provide a sufficient Number of Troops; and that they should find him ready to employ his Fortunes,

His Circular Letters.

tunes, and expoſe his Life, in Defence of the Religion and Liberty of *Poland*. 1697.

This Letter had no greater Succeſs than the Prince expected. It was without Effect. Moſt of the Generals of the Army, and the other Lords had taken different Meaſures, and after having drawn Money from both Parties, adhered to that, which had given them moſt, or from which they had Hopes of getting more. The Elector's Party grew ſtronger every Day, whilſt the Prince's viſibly declined. It was not known on what to depend. Some there were who made great Profeſſions, but performed nothing, or acted ſecretly in direct Contradiction to their open Engagements. Others would have ſold themſelves at a Price, it was not poſſible to pay; and ſome, after having received their Contracts, betrayed the Purchaſer. It's Succeſs.

The *Sapiehas*, and the great General of the Crown, were thoſe, of whom the Prince of *Conti* had moſt Reaſon to complain. The one invented falſe Reports to prevent the ſending of the Promiſed Troops. Others alarmed by theſe Reports, were afraid to march. All this gave the Prince of *Conti* no ſmall Diſguſt. He thought it inconſiſtent with his Dignity to ſuffer himſelf to be amuſed any longer. In a Conference held at *Oliva* the 29th of *Oct.* at which ſeveral *Poliſh* Lords were preſent, he declared, that Prince of *Conti* diſpleaſed.

1697. he had done his Duty to *Poland* to the utmoſt; that he was ready to make good all the moſt Chriſtian King had promiſed in his Name; that his Intention, in coming to put himſelf at the Head of ſo many brave People, was to defend them from the Oppoſition, with which they were threatened; but ſince it was their Reſolution to ſubmit to it, he could not reſolve to ſee their Liberties expire, which they had maintained from the Eſtabliſhment of their Monarchy; that it was inconſiſtent with his Dignity to be the Witneſs of their Diſgrace; and that he attributed to the Misfortunes of the Times, the Inconſiſtences which other Nations could not but obſerve in their Conduct.

Is deſired not to retire.

So ſudden a Reſolution was not expected. The *Poliſh* Lords to whom that Prince ſpoke, expreſſed their Surprize at it; they entreated him not to abandon them, aſſuring him at the ſame Time, that News would ſoon arrive from *Lithuania*; and were ſo earneſt with him, that the Prince, to expreſs his Eſteem for them, promiſed to defer his Departure.

Receives Embaſſadors.

It was thought at firſt, the Prince would have no Reaſon to repent his Complacency. The 2d of *November*, News came, that *Sapieha*, Marſhal of *Lithuania*, Son of the grand Marſhal of that Duchy, was arrived near *Dantzick*, with his Company of Guards, and

and three hundred *Lithuanians*. *Cazimire Oginſki*, Staroſt of *Godzin*, and Prince *Czartoreſki* were in his Company. Thoſe three Lords, and the Prince of *Radzivil*, who was expected every Day, were commiſſioned Embaſſadors from *Lithuania*. The Prince gave Audience to the Marſhal on Board his Ship, and warmly reproached him upon the Delay of the *Lithuanian* Troops and their General, after the Engagements they had entered into, and the Payment of the Money they demanded. *Sapieha*'s Anſwer was, that the Superiority of the *Saxon* Troops, and the Hoſtilities committed upon the Lands of his Family were the Occaſion, but that in ſix Weeks Time, ſix thouſand Men would march thither, who could not poſſibly begin their March ſooner.

1697.

Reproaches the Marſhal of *Lithuania*.

An Anſwer of this Kind did not fail to ſurprize the Prince. Six thouſand Men, ſaid he, is that a Body to make Head againſt the *German* Troops, far more numerous and much better diſciplin'd? This Diſcourſe finally convinced the Prince, there was no relying upon all the Promiſes that had been made him. And indeed with what Propriety could he reſolve to wait ſix Weeks for Troops that ought to have been there already to oppoſe the *Saxon* juſt coming upon him; and what Probability was there, that a Prince, whom *Poland* profeſſed to acknow-

Conceives no further Hopes.

1697. ledge for its Sovereign, ſhould paſs the Winter on Board his Ships, when the Kingdom had no Fortreſs of any Strength, and neither Troops nor any other Relief to ſupport him?

Receives other Embaſſadors.

Other Embaſſadors from the Republick arrived the 4th of *Nov.* at *Oliva.* The Biſhop of *Kiow*, whom the Primate had appointed Chief of the Embaſſy, had with him the Commiſſions of ſeveral other Embaſſadors for *Lithuania.* The Caſtellans of *Kaliſch* and *Siradia* were to act in the ſame Capacity for *Great Poland*, the former of whom brought with him three hundred Horſe. If the other Lords had only brought as many, the Prince might have been in ſome Condition, to diſpute his Ground with his Competitor. The Palatine of *Kiow*, and the Caſtellan of *Lublin*, repreſented *Little Poland. Bielinſki* Marſhal of the Diet, was joined in Commiſſion with theſe Embaſſadors, and was much fonder of preſenting the *Diploma* to the Prince than the Prince of receiving it. Prince *Lubomirſki*, Staroſt of *Sondek*, arrived at the ſame Time, and brought Advice, that fifteen hundred Horſe were upon their March to offer their Service. The Prince of *Conti* was pleaſed with the News, and declared he would take the Field at the Head of thoſe Troops.

Receives diſagreeable News.

This Dawn of Hope was of no long Duration. Accounts came, that the three thouſand

ſand *Saxons* were divided into two Bodies, one of which was marching for *Oliva*, the other for *Marienburgh*. The 5th of *November* this News was brought the Prince, who was then in Conference with the Embaſſadors; and changed all their Meaſures. The Troops expected were at too great a Diſtance to be much depended upon, beſides which there were no certain Accounts of the Place where they then were. 1697.

An Expreſs from the Primate brought other Accounts, which confirmed this News. That Prelate had given Notice in a Letter, that had been intercepted, that the *Saxons* had Orders to ſeize all the *Poles* in *Oliva*. Every Body was in Apprehenſion for himſelf, and the Alarm was ſo great, they knew not what Courſe to reſolve upon. *Grudzinſki*, Caſtellan of *Breſcia*, and *Lubomirſki*, Staroſt of *Sondek*, adviſed the Prince to enter *Great Poland* with all the Nobility then in his Company. This Advice was lofty and magnificent; but the worſt of it was its being ſomething too raſh, and for that Reaſon rejected by every Body. Other Meaſures were propoſed but ſubject to no leſs Inconveniences. It was neceſſary however to come to ſome Reſolution in the preſent Exigency. The Troops were expected in three Days, and in that View it was propoſed, that the Prince ſhould retire to *Stetin*

Raſh Counſel given him.

Other Propoſals.

1697. *tin*, inſtead of returning to *France*. That Place was the more commodious, as it was near the Frontier, and depended upon a Crown in Alliance with *France*. If theſe Succours, reply'd the Prince, are ſo near as they are believed, I ſhall expect them on Board my Ships; for I cannot reſolve to abandon my faithful Friends. He was aſked whether he would receive the Embaſſy with the Diploma, which he refuſed, as inconſiſtent to take Poſſeſſion of a Kingdom, from whence he was adviſed to retire.

The ſame Day the fifth of *November*, the Chevalier *Bart*, by the Prince's Orders, ſeized five Merchant Ships of *Dantzick*, then in the Road, laden and ready to ſail. There were two Reaſons for carrying Things to this Extremity. One was, to make the City of *Dantzick* ſenſible of a Power to revenge their Precipitation in Favour of the Elector, and the other, to puniſh ſeveral Inſults, offered by the Burghers to the *French* of the Squadron, who had gone into their Town.

Veſſels of *Dantzick* ſeized by the Chevalier *Bart*.

Before this Rupture, the *Abbe Polignac* had ſignified to the Principal Burgomaſters, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had given Orders to ſeize all Veſſels of *Dantzick*. The Burgomaſter aſked whether this Notification was a Declaration of War from the King of *France*. The Embaſſador reply'd,

Declaration to the Burgomaſter of *Dantzick* and his Anſwer.

It

It was not: But that the King his Maſter was no leſs offended with that City, than he had been with *Genoa*, which was as much as to threaten a Bombardment. It was however much further from *Dunkirk* to *Dantzick*, than from *Marſeilles* or *Toulon* to *Genoa*. Beſides *Dantzick* is not upon the Coaſt as *Genoa* is, and the Powers intereſted in the Preſervation of this City, could more eaſily prevent its Ruin, than thoſe in the Intereſt of the other its Bombardment. 1697.

The Embaſſador of *France*'s Declaration, and the ſeizing of the five Veſſels alarmed the City of *Dantzick*. The ordinary Counſel immediately ſummoned the Counſel of an hundred, the Reſult of whoſe Deliberations was, that the Gates of the City ſhould be ſhut by Way of Precaution, that all the Effects of the *French* ſhould be ſeized, and that their Money and Bills of Exchange ſhould be brought into the Town-Houſe. They wrote at the ſame Time to the King of *Denmark*, to deſire him not to permit their Ships, taken in the Road by the Chevalier *Bart*, to paſs the Sound. They alſo implored Aid of all the Powers, intereſted in the Preſervation of their City, and informed them of the Steps that had been taken in ſo delicate a Conjuncture. Magiſtrates of *Dantzick*'s Conduct.

The *Abbe Polignac* had given Orders to his People to remove the moſt valuable of

1697. his Moveables, which had been carried thither for the Accommodation of the Prince of *Conti*. Thoſe Orders were given too late. At the ſame Time his Domeſticks were preparing to put them in Execution, the Magiſtrates ſent them to Priſon, and with them the Merchants, who had been ſerviceable to the Prince. They ſeized the greateſt Part of the Embaſſador's Effects, and after having ſold his Horſes by Auction, had the Inſolence to ſend him a Trumpet, with a Letter to reclaim their Ships. The Embaſſador's Reply was, that as to their Ships, they were no Concern of his, and that to plunder his Houſe was a bad Method of engaging him to ſollicite in their Favour. Remember, added he, you have violated the Laws of Nations, and failed in Reſpect for a great King, whom no Body has hitherto offended with Impunity.

Impriſon *Abbe Polignac*'s Domeſticks.

At the ſame Time that Miniſter received Advice, that the *Saxons* lay the Evening before at *Stum*, a Town of *Pruſſia*, that they had made the hundred and ſixty of *Sapieha*'s Horſe, with their Commander Priſoners of War. On the ſixth, nothing was talked of every where but the March of the *Saxons*, and the Violence committed by them. The Embaſſador thought it high Time to provide for the Safety of his Effects which he ſent to the Abby of *Oliva*, the only Place of Refuge

Alarm given by the *Saxon* Troops.

Refuge, that remained on the Coaſt, and where moſt of the *Poliſh* Senators were retired. The 7th he waited on the Prince to deſire Boats, but could not have them that Day, being ſent out for Water; he was promiſed them the next, with ſixty Men to guard them. 1697.

General *Brand* was near *Dantzick*, with a conſiderable Body of *Saxon* Troops, and finding the Prince of *Conti* in no Condition to oppoſe him, he thought it his Duty to make uſe of the Occaſion, and the little Care his Party had taken to be upon their Guard. With this view, *November* 8, at Day-break, he advanced towards *Oliva*. They advance to *Oliva*.

The Boats of the *French* Squadron, were at that Time employed in carrying Soldiers to Shore, with whom went the *Abbe Chateauneuf* to bring off what was left in the Abby. Twenty of the Soldiers were ſcarce landed, when they perceived a great Body of Horſe in the Plain. It was a Detachment of the *Saxons* with the reſt cloſe in their Rear. The Soldiers who guarded the out Parts of the Abby, were in as profound a Sleep, as if there was nothing to fear. The *Saxons* attacked them ſuddenly, and put moſt of them to the Sword, before they could take to their Arms for their Defence.

They broke alſo into the inſide of the Abby, where the *Saxons* ſeized all that belonged And ſeize the Abby.

ed

1697. ed to either the *French* or the *Poles*. The Embaſſadors Papers, and Plate were concealed in the Veſtry, which *Peter Hubert*, his Secretary, found Means to get off. He ſhut himſelf up in the Abby, tho' admitted with great Difficulty, and by diſtributing three hundred Ducats amongſt the Religious, he procured the Habit of their Order and found Means to take off the Seal, which the *Saxons* had affixed to the ſtrong Box, in which the Papers were. He carried them off on the 9th at Midnight, and ſent them to *Dantzick*, covered with Herbs and Roots, by a Peaſant he could truſt, who delivered them to the great Chamberlain's Lady, which Lady afterwards reſtored them to the Embaſſador.

Commit Violences. The Caſtellan of *Kaliſch*, whom they particularly wanted, was ſo fortunate to get off, and eſcape an Ambuſcade laid for him. Thirty Horſe were detached in Purſuit of him, who followed him in the Woods to no Purpoſe, for they could not come up with him. The Staroſt of *Sondek* cut his Way thro' the Enemy Sword in Hand, with only four in his Company, and received their whole Fire without a Wound. The Biſhop of *Kiow*, and the Caſtellan of *Brzeſcia* took Sanctuary in the Abby Church. The Caſtellan they rifled, and abuſed. The Biſhop, who was before the Altar, proſtrate in

in Devotion, was no better treated, and had his Croſs of Diamonds torn from his Breaſt. 1697.

The *Poles* at *Dantzick* were no better uſed than thoſe at *Oliva*. The Palatine of *Kiow*, the Marſhal of *Lithuania*, Prince *Czartoreſki*, the Staroſt of *Pereſlaw*, and the great Chamberlain had the Mortification to be put under Arreſt in their Houſes, by the Burgomaſters of *Dantzick*, who placed Guards upon them; ſeveral Gentlemen the Mob dragged about the Streets by the Hair.

Andrew Zaowſki, Biſhop of *Ploſko* had the Addreſs to eſcape theſe Inſults. He retired after the Counſel of the 29th of *October*, when the Prince of *Conti* declared his Reſolution to return to *France*. That Prelate would have purchaſed at any Rate the Biſhoprick of *Warmia*, a more conſiderable Benefice than his own. When he ſaw the Prince of *Conti*, to whom he adhered, no longer in a Condition to procure him that Advantage, he joined the *Saxon* Party, which, it is more than probable, he had before prepared for ſuch an Event. Biſhop of *Ploſko* goes over to the Elector.

Among the Priſoners, who were taken and amounted to two hundred, were forty of the Prince of *Conti*'s Domeſticks. The *Abbe Polignac* was very near being taken himſelf. He had ſcarce Time to get on Board the *French* Squadron. He there found the Prince of *Conti*, juſt getting into a Boat, to Priſoners taken by the *Saxons*.

go

1697. go to *Oliva*, ſo that the Prince would undoubtedly have been taken, if *Brand* had arrived two Hours later.

They beſiege and take *Marienburgh*.

That General, to take Advantage of the Conſternation, into which he had thrown his Maſter's Enemies, ſate down without loſing Time before the Caſtle of *Marienburgh*. *Dzialinſki*, grand Carver of the Crown, had retired thither, as is before obſerved. His Deſign was not ſo much to preſerve the Place, as to make an Advantagious Capitulation, in which he had Succeſs. After the firſt Attack, he ſurrendered upon Conditions agreed on between him and *Brand*. The Palatine of *Siradia*, and the great Chamberlain *Bielinſki*, went almoſt at the ſame Time to *Cracow*, to take their Oaths of Fidelity to the Elector.

As *Marienburgh* was the only City, the Prince of *Conti* could land at with Safety, the Loſs of that Place, and the Deſertion of ſo many Lords, determined him to retreat. The 9th about Noon he ſet Sail for *France*. He thought it proper, that the *Abbe Polignac* ſhould land in the Iſle of *Rugen*, and from thence repair to *Stetin*; that he might be in readineſs to return to *Poland*, if the Conjuncture made it neceſſary. The Prince carried away with him only four of the Ships, ſeized by his Order in the Road of *Dantzick*. A ſmall Veſſel, which was the fifth,

Prince of *Conti* ſets Sail to return.

fifth, found Means to eſcape, and anchor'd ſafely under the Cannon of the Caſtle of *Termand*. Before his Departure, he wrote two Letters, one to the Primate, and another to the Republick. In both of them he expreſſed his great Diſpleaſure, in having ſeen *Poland* ſubjected by foreign Troops, and the Republick in Danger. In that to the Republick, he warmly reproached the Nobility, his Adherents, with breach of Promiſe, and abuſing his Facility, in expoſing him to come thither, and receive an Affront in the Face of all Europe; an Affront, he ſaid, of which he was the more ſenſible, as he had never entertained Thoughts of being their King. 1697. Writes to the Primate and the Republick.

The Prince put in the 15th at *Draco*, in the Iſle of *Amag*. His Veſſel, and another of the Squadron had touched upon the Bank of *Zandholm*, which obliged him to go aſhore in the Boat. Monſieur *Bonrepaus*, Embaſſador of *France*, at the Court of *Denmark*, went to wait on him at *Draco*, and conducted him the 16th to *Copenhagen*. The next Day he went to Court, where he appeared *incognito*, under the Name of the Count *D'Alets*, to avoid diſputing Precedence with the Prince Royal. On the 19th he returned on Board, and ſet ſail the ſame Day for the Coaſt of *France*. The King of *Denmark* would not ſuffer the four Veſſels, taken in the Anchors in *Denmark*. K. of *Denmark* ſtops the Ships of *Dantzick*.

1697. the Road of *Dantzick*, to paſs the Sound. He ordered the *French* Officer, who aſked his Permiſſion, to be told, that he could not ſuffer the leaſt Ship to be taken in the *Baltick* Sea, and much leſs Veſſels, laden with Merchandize, that it would be an Infringment of his Treaties with all Nations, by which he was obliged to preſerve the Paſſage of the Sound free, and to maintain the Tranquillity of the *Baltick*. That Monarch laid thoſe Veſſels, however, under an Embargo, till the Difference between the Court of *France*, and the City of *Dantzick*, ſhould be accommodated.

Elector grows ſtrong.

The Elector of *Saxony*'s Affairs, which, before the Prince of *Conti*'s Departure, were not a little ſucceſsful, took new Force after the Retreat of that Prince. Not only ſeveral Diſtricts of the Republick acknowledged him, but took an Oath of Fidelity to him. A Number of Gentlemen, to whom that Prince opened his Arms, declared in his Favour. A Part of the Army ſent their Deputies to ſwear entire Obedience to him in their Name; and the King of *Sweden*, and the Czar of *Muſcovy* offered to aſſiſt him with their Troops. A conſiderable Party of the Nobility, however, altho' in great Diſtreſs by the Prince of *Conti*'s Retreat, continued firm to his Intereſt, and did not loſe their Courage. The Primate and ſome Lords ſupported it with

Declaration of P. of *Conti*'s Party.

with their whole Credit, and Authority. They neglected no Arguments to prove the Goodneſs of their Cauſe. They publiſhed Manifeſtos in Vindication of their Meaſures, in which they declared, that all the Reſolutions they had hitherto taken, were not only juſt, but eſſential to the Defence of their Religion and Liberties; that this was the ſoleReaſon of their Perſeverance in the Proteſts, they had made againſt the irregular Proceedings of the contrary Faction; and that they did not only think it proper to confirm thoſe Proteſts, but to add ſuch others, as ſhould be Neceſſary. 1697

The Elector found no leſs Oppoſition to his Deſigns from the Lords, who had acknowledged him. That Prince had entered *Poland* at the Head of his Troops, and was obliged for the Safety of his Perſon, to continue a Body of them about him, and to quarter them in *Cracow*. The *Poles*, who cannot endure the leaſt Appearance of an Attempt upon their Liberties, murmured highly at this Behaviour. They complained that the Privileges of the Nation were violated, in confiding the Guard of the Capital of *Poland*, to *German* Troops, which properly belonged to the Natives of the Country. Beſides which the *Poles* and *Germans* had a natural Antipathy for each other. The Troops of the two Nations could not quarter together, Oppoſition to the Elector.

1697. together, without frequent Quarrels, which were often followed either by Duels or Combats between ſmall Parties. This made it neceſſary to find an expedient to ſatisfy the *Poles*, without obliging the *Germans* to leave the Kingdom, and to reconcile the Primate and his Adherents; two Things extremely difficult, as many Intereſts not only different, but almoſt directly oppoſite, were to be managed.

Tries to remove it. Thoſe Difficulties long employed the King and his Council in *Cracow*, who agreed, however, upon the moſt eſſential Points. They thought it beſt to uſe gentle Means, to induce the Primate to reconcile himſelf to the Elector; that the *Saxon* Troops ſhould remove their Quarters to the Sea Coaſt, to be ready againſt any new Attempts of the *French*; and the *Poliſh* Soldiers ſhould be poſted upon the Frontiers as uſual, to guard them againſt the *Turks* and *Tartars*. By quartering the Troops ſo remote from each other, the Conſequences of their Jealouſy were prevented. It was further agreed to declare the Prince of *Conti*, and all thoſe, who had any Part in ſeizing the *Dantzick* Ships, Enemies of the Republick; and alſo to ſummons immediately a general Diet of Pacification.

Leaves *Cracow*. The Elector, no longer alarmed by the Preſence of his Competitor in the Kingdom, the

the Intrigues of the *French* Miniſters, and the Diviſions of the Army, thought only of going to *Warſaw*. He began his March *Dec.* 27th, leaving a Garriſon of two thouſand Men in the Citadel of *Cracow*, and one thouſand in the Town; the firſt under the Command of *Szombeck*, Caſtellan of *Wolnetz*, and the others under *Witepſki*, Caſtellan of *Cracow*. The Elector's Deſign was to aſſemble a Diet of Pacification, to conclude the Union of the different Parties, who were ſtill turbulent in ſome Parts of *Poland*, and to reconcile the Lords who perſiſted in the Oppoſition. 1697.

Upon the firſt News of his March, the Grand Marſhal of the Crown, the great Treaſurer of *Lithuania*, and ſeveral other Perſons of the firſt Quality, came from *Warſaw* upon the 2d of *January* to meet that Prince, who made his Entry, the 13th. The Magiſtrates preſented him the Keys of the City, and the Clergy received him in their Formalities, at the Entrance of the Collegiate Church, where the *Te Deum* was ſung to the Diſcharge of the Cannon, and the Acclamations of the People. Enters *Warſaw*.

After the Ceremony, the Elector attended by the Senators, and preceded by the Marſhals, carrying their Staffs of Office, went to the Caſtle, where the Keys were preſented him by the Palatine of *Ploſko*, as Gover- Goes to the Caſtle.

1697. nor of *Warsaw*. In the Evening he made a Visit to the Queen *Dowager*, who returned the Compliment next Day. This second Interview passed in a long Conference, which ended in an entire Reconciliation between that Prince, and the late King's Family. It was observed, that the Princes *Alexander*, and *Constantine* went to *Villanova*, to receive the Elector the Day he made his Entry, and advanced to the Boot of his Coach. The House of *Sapieha* acknowledged him at the same Time, King of *Poland*, and made their Submission.

Tho' this Progress was considerable, much was still wanting to confirm the Elector in the quiet Possession of the Kingdom. The *Rokozs* persisted in the Resolution of acknowledging no other King, but the Prince of *Conti*, and nothing could reconcile the Primate, or inspire him with pacifick Sentiments. The Elector's Council conceived a Diet of Pacification, the only Remedy, and flattered themselves, that the other Lords might be brought over by Promises, or, where Promises should fail, by real Services.

Summons the Diet of Pacification.

In this Opinion, circular Letters were dispatched, for summoning that Diet to assemble on the 16th of *April*, and the petty Diets to precede the General Diet were appointed for the 5th of *March*.

In those Letters, the principal Points to be considered were stated, which were the Means

Means for re-eſtabliſhing the Peace of the Nation, and for raiſing at leaſt the Moyety of what was due to the Army. The Elector repreſented at the ſame Time, that after having embraced the *Roman Catholick* Religion, his only End, in ſetting up for the Crown of *Poland*, was to defend that Religion againſt the common Enemy of Chriſtendom, and to ſupport the Nation in their antient Liberties and Privileges; that to effect thoſe Deſigns, he had brought his Troops into the Kingdom, and, if contrary to his Intention, they had done any Damage upon the Lands of the Nobility, he was ready to make entire Satisfaction; but that he thought it neceſſary to redreſs the Abuſes certain Perſons made of their Credit and Authority. He added, that his Forces ſhould be only employed, to reſtore the Kingdom to its antient Luſtre, and particularly to retake *Kaminieck*, and all *Podolia* from the *Turks*, provided he ſhould be ſeconded by the Nation; and concluded with declaring, that, in the approaching Diet, all Parties ſhould be at full Liberty to ſpeak their Sentiments. 1697

His Proclamation for that Diet.

Theſe circular Letters had not the Effect expected from them. The Diviſions of *Poland* encreaſed, and roſe much higher in *Lithuania*. *Oginſki*, Great Standard-Bearer of that Duchy, offended at the Houſe of

Differences in *Lithuania* encreaſe.

1697. *Sapieha*'s having made their Accommodation, took Arms againſt the Great General, aſſembled a conſiderable Body of the Nobility, corrupted Part of the Army, committed Hoſtilities in the Country, and ravaged chiefly the Lands of the *Sapiehas*. On the other Hand, the General, with the remainder of the Troops who continued in Obedience, prepared to oppoſe the Violences of that Officer.

Theſe Diſorders did not ſuit the Electors Projects, who endeavoured to pacify Things, for the furtherance of his own Meaſures. He immediately diſpatched two Expreſſes. The one with Orders to the great Standard-Bearer of *Lithuania*, to diſmiſs the Troops he had aſſembled, and afterwards to repair to *Warſaw*: The Contents of the other, were abſolutely to forbid the Great General, *Sapieha*'s oppoſing the Outrages of *Oginſki* by Force, upon the Promiſe of ſuitable Satisfaction to be made him.

Elector endeavours to appeaſe it.

The Elector's Council did not expect an entire Obedience from the different Parties, and thought they had no Reaſon to complain when the Deputies of each arrived at *Warſaw*. It was not poſſible, however, to reconcile them, as both declared, they were not furniſhed with ſufficient Powers to conclude a Treaty. All that could be done, was to exhort them to terminate their Differ-

ences amicably, and refer the reſt to their reſpective Leaders who were to attend at *Warſaw*. 1697.

In *Poland* the Army, tho' the greateſt Part of it had ſubmitted to the Elector, continued to Mutiny from Time to Time. They framed many Pretenſions, which they carried ſo far as to expreſs, their Intention was to erect a fourth State in the Kingdom, and to have an equal Share in the publick Affairs; beſides this, the Miſunderſtanding of the *Poles* and *Saxons* ran high, either becauſe the *Saxons* did not obſerve ſo exact a Diſcipline with their Landlords in their Quarters, as the Conjuncture made requiſite, or that the *Poles* were too touchy, and delicate in what Regarded their Liberty, and Privileges. Diviſion reigns in *Poland*.

What gave them further Trouble, was the Primate's perſiſting to refuſe to come to any Accommodation. The Envoy of *Brandenburgh*, the Biſhop of *Javarin*, and ſeveral of his Friends, went often to wait on him at *Lowitz*, where he continued to reſide, but without any Succeſs. He expreſſed himſelf more determinate than ever, in Conſequence of the News he had received from *France*. However, as it was known, that the Court of *Rome* had reſolved to acknowledge the Elector as King, it gave Reaſon to hope, the Prelate's Reſpect for the *Holy* Elector ſolicites the Primate in vain.

1697. *See* would have more Influence upon him, than all the Solicitations that could be made.

Pope's Policy. Altho' the Duke of *Saxony*'s Election was properly the Work of the Pope, his Holineſs out of Policy ſuffered himſelf to be very much ſolicited, before he would appear to acknowledge that Prince, as King of *Poland*. It was given out, that *France* intended to ſupport the Prince of *Conti*'s Election, and that the naval Armament, fitting out in the Ports of *France*, was deſigned in Favour of that Prince's Return into *Poland*. Such Rumours, tho' they had little Foundation, prevented for ſome Time the *Pope*'s good Intentions from taking Place. He thought it proper to take Advantage from the Occaſion, and to make his Appearance of Neutrality a Merit with the Court of *France*. But on the thirteenth of *Jan.* he declared himſelf openly. In a Congregation held that Day, it was reſolved, that as the Elector of *Saxony* was in full Poſſeſſion, and it appeared from the Prince of *Conti*'s Return into *France*, that Court had no further Deſign to ſupport his Pretenſions, the Court of *Rome* could no longer defer the Acknowledgment of *Auguſtus*'s Election. The Holy Father approved this Reſolution, and received the Sieur *Giedokinſki*, and the Baron *De Ge* in Quality of Miniſters from the new King of *Poland* to the *Holy See*,

People

People were not miſtaken in the Hopes they had conceived of the Primate. Soon after the Court of *Rome* declared itſelf, the Primate's Obſtinacy ſeemed to relax. He expreſſed his Inclination to come to an Agreement. The Conditions he offered were indeed a little of the roughest: But that did not prevent the Satisfaction of having brought him to Terms. It gave Reaſon to believe he contended for no other Reaſon, but the Point of Honour; as he knew that, let him make his Bargain as late as he would, it could not but be much to his own Advantage. He demanded amongſt other Things, that the Republick ſhould make a general and open Satisfaction for the Injuries that had been done, as well to his Perſon as Dignity; that it ſhould acknowledge by an authentick Act, the Violation of the Laws in Reſpect to him; that it ſhould engage, never to proceed to the Coronation of any future King without his Conſent, or that of the Primates his Succeſſors; and that the Biſhop of *Cujavia* in particular, ſhould make a perſonal Satisfaction. 1697. Primate grows calm.

When the Elector was informed of this Diſpoſition of the Primate, he wrote him a Letter full of Expreſſions of Affection, and profeſſing a particular Eſteem for his Perſon and Dignity; which the Primate anſwered with another, in which he gave that Prince Elector writes to him.

1697. the Title of Majeſty, he declared in it his ardent Deſire of Peace, and great Paſſion for the Power of aſſuring him of his Obedience and Reſpect; but added, that having the Honour of being Primate of a Nation, not accuſtomed to admit any Sovereign, but ſuch as ſhould be elected by their free and unanimous Conſent, he ſhould apply his whole Power and Endeavours in ſuch a Manner, that the preſent Occaſions of Strife might be removed with Honour in the *Rokozs*.

Aſſembly of the *Rokozs*.

The Aſſembly of Confederacy, or *Rokozs*, to which the Primate referred, had been ſummoned by that Prelate with the Electors Conſent, who ſent thither for his Deputies, the Grand Marſhal of the Crown, and the great Treaſurer of *Lithuania*. That Aſſembly was held at *Lowitz*, the 18th of *Feb.* at which the Envoy of *Brandenburgh* was preſent. It was expected, that the Primate's ſole Application would have been to have induced the Aſſembly to Submiſſion, as he had promiſed in ſome Meaſure, but he went no further than propoſing in general, that proper Methods ſhould be found, for the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Laws, and the publick Safety and Tranquillity. The Elector's Deputies were then called in, who preſented their Powers, and at the ſame Time a Letter from their Maſter. But the Quality of Commiſſioners given them, and ſome Expreſſions

preſſions, that did not ſeem conſiſtent, inraged the Members of the Aſſembly to ſuch a Degree, that the Deputies were obliged to retire as faſt as poſſible, to prevent their being inſulted. Nor were a new Letter and other Powers, which they ſent for, much more ſucceſsful. Several Members of the *Rokozs* exclaimed againſt the Title of King, which the Elector aſſumed. The Letter was however received; but with much Difficulty. Twenty one Articles were prepared in Conſequence, without which, the Aſſembly declared themſelves incapable of receiving the Elector for rightful King. The Articles were: 1697.

Art. I. That the Elector ſhall give poſitive Aſſurances from the Court of *Rome*, of his having embraced the *Roman Catholick* Religion. Articles propoſed to the Elector.

Art. II. That the Electreſs ſhall embrace the ſame Religion.

Art. III. That the *Roman Catholick* Religion ſhall be eſtabliſhed in *Saxony*.

Art. IV. That the four Provinces, diſmembered from the Crown, ſhall be re-united to it.

Art. V. That Accounts ſhall be given of the Application of the Publick Money.

Art. VI. That the *Pacta Conventa* ſhall be prepared by the *Rokozs*, and preſented by the Marſhal of that Aſſembly.

Art. VII.

1697. Art. VII. That the vacant Offices which had been filled up, ſhall be confirmed with new Proviſions.

Art. VIII. That all foreign Troops ſhall be diſmiſſed.

Art. IX. That in Conſideration of the Damages done by the Emperor's Troops, his Imperial Majeſty ſhall grant Winter Quarters to *Poliſh* Troops upon his Domains.

Art. X. That publick Employments ſhall not be given to Strangers.

Art. XI. That the Act of Naturalization, accorded to the Houſe of *Saxony*, ſhall not extend beyond the Electoral Branch of that Family.

Art. XII. That the King ſhall not uſe the Title of Elector.

Art. XIII. That the Damages done by the Army, ſhall be made good at the Expence of the grand General.

Art. XIV. That all Officers of the Army, and Guards, ſhall be *Roman Catholicks*.

Art. XV. That all the Strangers in no Service ſhall be diſmiſſed.

Art. XVI. That the City of *Dantzick* ſhall be made amends for the Loſſes, it ſuſtained by the War, declared againſt it.

Art. XVII. That publick Sentence ſhall paſs on the Biſhop of *Cujavia*, to diſqualify him from crowning any King.

Art. XVIII.

Art. XVIII. That Enquiry ſhall be made into the Cauſe of the Treaſury's being broken open. 1697.

Art. XIX. That Eccleſiaſticks ſhall not be diſturbed in the Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates.

Art. XX. That General *Brand* ſhall anſwer at Law for the Damages done by his Troops, and due Reparation be had.

Art. XXI. That all Decrees paſſed during the Diviſion of the Republick, ſhall be cancelled and annulled.

They might in Reality as well have told the Elector plainly, they would not receive him as King. It was not in his Power to grant ſeveral of theſe Articles, and for others of them, they ſo ſenſibly wounded his Honour and Authority, that to have granted them, he muſt not only have renounced the Dignity of King, but alſo that of Elector and Prince. However as this Aſſembly, ſhould its Event prove fortunate, might confirm the Elector upon the Throne, the Deputies of that Prince, and the Envoy of *Brandenburgh*, did not deſpond. They omited Nothing to moderate the Severity of the Articles. All they could obtain, was to reduce their Number; but as the moſt difficult of the Conditions were ſtill included, the Deputies did not think fit to receive them. Their Refuſal put an End to the Cannot be complyed with.

Patience

1697. Patience of the moſt Zealous in the Oppoſition. Their Rage grew furious, and ſome of them fired Muſquet Shot into the Envoy of *Brandenburgh*'s Windows. The Primate endeavoured in vain to put a Stop to theſe Violences. His Moderation had little or no Effect upon People ſo paſſionate againſt the Elector, and who agreed but indifferently amongſt themſelves.

Outrage of ſome of the Members of the *Rokozs*.

The Tumult continued till the 26th, when the Aſſembly diſſolved. The more reaſonable were aſhamed to ſee Things carried to ſuch Exceſs. The greateſt Part of the Deputies of *Little Poland*, thoſe of *Siradia*, *Lencicia* and *Rava*, three Palatinates of *Great Poland*, the Biſhop of *Kiow* and three other Lords retired to *Boni*, with Reſolution to acknowledge the Elector. That Prince's Commiſſaries immediately repaired thither. The Agreement was concluded, and *Te Deum* ſung with the Service of Thankſgiving.

The more reaſonable acknowledge the Elector.

The Primate, the Marſhal of the *Rokozs*, and the reſt of the Aſſembly continued at *Lowitz*, determined to abate Nothing of the Conditions they had propoſed. On the contrary, they added two Clauſes to the Article concerning the Biſhop of *Cujavia*. They inſiſted upon his being depoſed, and diſqualified for ever, from holding any Employment, or having any Concern in the Affairs of

The *Rokozs* repair that Loſs.

of the State. As to the Loſs the *Rokozs* ſuſtained of the Deputies of *Little Poland*, and the three Palatinates of the Great, the Biſhop of *Kiow*, &c. that was in ſome Meaſure repaired by ſix Standards of the Crown Army, who declared for them, as did ſeveral Lords, who abandoned the Elector and joined the Confederacy. 1697.

Such was the Conſequence of the Aſſembly of *Rokozs*, from which the Elector promiſed himſelf the Confirmation of his Authority. Many People had not been miſtaken in their Conjectures. They could not comprehend the Elector's Reaſons for permitting that Aſſembly, and thought it more adviſeable for him to have forced the Primate and his Adherents to ſubmit. But when it is conſidered, that Prelate had in his Party many of the Senators, and Chiefs of the Republick, and was ſupported by a great Number of Gentlemen, who if the *Rokozs* had not been ſuffered to aſſemble, could have taken Permiſſion from their own Strength, it will be readily granted, that the Elector did not make an ill Choice. Beſides that Prince was not ignorant, that gentle Methods were the moſt effectual to ſecure a Throne hitherto, but ill eſtabliſhed.

Elector's Motives for permitting the Aſſembly of the *Rokozs*.

The ſame Reaſon prevented his giving the Envoy of *Brandenburgh* Satisfaction. That Miniſter made great Complaints of the Violences

Envoy of *Brandenburgh* demands Satisfaction in vain.

1697. lences committed in his Houſe, and the Inſults done to his Perſon and Character. From which the Primate excuſed himſelf, by throwing the Fault upon the Number of the *Rokozs*. The Elector promiſed for Form's Sake to take Care, that the Authors of the Inſult ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed. The Envoy was under the Neceſſity of contenting himſelf with ſo ſlight a Satisfaction, which was all he could expect in a Time of Confuſion, when neither of the Parties ſcarce paid any Regard to the Rights of Nations, to Law, or Religion.

Troubles in *Lithuania.*

The Troubles were to the full as great in *Lithuania*. The Army had almoſt intirely revolted from the great General, and ſubmitted to the Orders of *Oginſki*, great Standard-bearer; and all the Nobility, who had taken Party with that Officer, demanded a *Coequation* with the ſame Order in *Poland*, and that the enſuing Diet ſhould be held under Arms, and on Horſeback. They inſiſted further upon four hundred thouſand Crowns, which, as they ſaid, had been promiſed to General *Sapieha*, for the payment of the Army. This laſt Article was not the moſt difficult to regulate. The Elector's Deſign was to purchaſe Peace at any Price. The Demand of a Diet to aſſemble in Arms and on Horſeback, gave much more Trouble. On the one Hand he foreſaw ſuch a Diet could

could not be held without great Effuſion of Blood; on the other, he apprehended an Aſſembly of the Nobility, armed and in open Field, might propoſe a new Election. He therefore abſolutely refuſed to comply with ſuch a Demand; tho' at the Hazard of ſeeing the *Coequation* of the Nobility of *Lithuania* with thoſe of *Poland* take Effect. 1697.

This *Coequation* was as much deſired by the Nobility of the Kingdom, as by thoſe of *Lithuania*. Happily for the Elector, it was contrary to the Rights of Prince *Sapieha* and his Family, who were in Poſſeſſion of moſt of the great Offices of the Duchy, and they all joined in oppoſing the *Coequation*. The great General publiſhed a Manifeſto, wherein he made appear, that *Oginſki*'s Conduct was not only irregular, but contrary as well to Equity as Humanity; and expoſed the Violences and Cruelties, committed by that Officer. This Manifeſto was more ſucceſsful than was expected. It made a ſtrong Impreſſion upon a great Number of the Malecontents. Part of the Army and Numbers of Gentlemen abandoned *Oginſki*, and went over to the General, with a Reſolution to oppoſe all thoſe who ſhould undertake any Thing againſt the publick Tranquillity. With this Reinforcement *Sapieha* advanced to his Enemy, who did not

Sapieha publiſhes a Manifeſto.

1697. not avoid him. They came to an Engagement, in which the great General had the Advantage. *Oginski* losing five or six hundred Men, killed and wounded.

Seditious Writing. At *Warsaw* they carried it so far, as to affix upon the Church Door, an impious and seditious Writing, in the *Latin*, *Polish*, and *French* Languages. It was an Invitation of all true Christians to assemble on the third of *March*, to put all the *Germans* to the Sword, with the Promise of Pardon for the Sins of those, who should join in so good a Work. The Elector was not much alarmed at a Menace published in that Manner; but however did not omit to take his Precautions. He published a considerable Reward to those, who would discover the Author of that Writing, and gave Orders, that a good Guard should be kept the Day assigned for the Execution. But no Body appeared. Thus the Hopes that had been conceived, that the Divisions of *Poland* would soon be made easy, came to Nothing. The Troubles of that great Kingdom on the contrary, were seen to improve more and more, without the Appearance of their being soon at an End. The Queen of *Poland*, besides, who had hitherto seemed to act in Concert with the King of *France*, treated secretly with the Principals of the *Rokozs*, in behalf

behalf of her Son *Alexander*; and the General of *Great Poland*, who was withdrawn to his Lands, under Pretence of preventing the bad Designs of ſome ill diſpoſed People to commit Diſorders upon them, gave room to ſuſpect his real Intention was, to join the Confederates. 1697.

All theſe Difficulties, from which it was not poſſible to extricate himſelf by gentle Means, ſeemed to reduce the Elector to have recourſe to Arms, the only Remedy for the Recovery of the publick Tranquillity. That Prince was ſtill inclined to ſee, whether Time would not produce ſome Advantage, and turned his whole Attention upon his Journey into *Pruſſia*, projected a Month before. He thought it neceſſary to endeavour the Eſtabliſhment of his Authority in that Province, the moſt conſiderable of the Kingdom. With this View he left *Warſaw* the 8th of *March*, attended with a numerous Train of the Nobility, and an Eſcort of nine hundred Horſe. The 12th he viſited the Fortifications of *Marienburgh*, and next Day received the Compliments of Congratulation, from the Deputies of the City of *Elbing*, and the 15th from thoſe of the Magiſtracy of *Dantzick*. Elector goes to *Pruſſia*.

The 17th the Elector went from *Marienburgh*, to a Country Houſe, a quarter of a League from *Dantzick*, where he was complimented His Entry into *Dantzick*

1697. plimented by the Burgomaſters, *Ferber* and *Snieden*, and by the Counſellor *Nimſgarden*, who came to meet him with a Detachment of the Horſe Militia. The next Day that Prince made his publick Entry, received the Keys of that City from the Burgomaſter *Ferber*, and was conducted to an Houſe prepared for his Reception, where the City regaled him magnificently for three Days. Having a Curioſity to ſee the Abby of *Oliva*, he went thither the 21ſt, and could not deny himſelf the Satisfaction of viſiting that Part of the Coaſt, where the *French* had lain at Anchor, and where the Prince of *Conti* landed. The 25th he received the City of *Dantzick*'s Oaths of Fidelity and Homage, after having confirmed the Privileges of its Inhabitants, and ſworn to maintain them entirely.

The *Rokozs* aſk Aid of *France* in vain.

During this Time the *Rokozs*, more averſe than ever to Accommodation, took Meaſures to encreaſe their Strength. They ſent a Deputation into *France*, to deſire Aid, and ſollicite the Prince of *Conti*'s return into *Poland*. But thoſe Deputies were given to underſtand, the ill Uſe, that had been made of that Prince's Preſence when amongſt them, was a ſufficient Reaſon for thinking it improper to interfere further in their Affairs. They were likewiſe informed, that a People, who had failed ſo much in their Profeſſions, did not deſerve

deſerve any Meaſures ſhould be taken in their Favour. The Court of *France* was offended at the little Warmth the *Poles* expreſſed, when the Prince of *Conti* appeared on their Coaſts: But their Coldneſs proceeded from far different Cauſes: On one Side they apprehended, that the Poles, who ſhewed ſo much Zeal in negociating, might fail a ſecond Time of Reſolution, when it ſhould come to Action; on the other it was to be feared, that the northern Princes might oppoſe the Enterprize, and the King of *Denmark* refuſe to let a *French* Squadron paſs the *Sound*. Nor indeed, conſidering the poſture of Affairs, was it conſiſtent with Policy, to ſupport the Prince of *Conti*'s Pretenſions. A far more important View employ'd at that Time the Court of *France*'s Attention. The King of *Spain* was dangerouſly ill; in Caſe of whoſe Death, *France* would have Occaſion for all its Forces to ſecure a Succeſſion, which it was expected would be diſputed to the utmoſt. 1697.

It was no ſmall Advantage to the Elector, to be no longer under Apprehenſions from the *French*, and the Arrival of *Paulucci*, the Pope's Nuncio, was as much in his Favour. But *Poland* and *Lithuania* were ſo divided, and their Heats ran ſo high, that there was little Reaſon to expect Tranquillity would ſoon be re-eſtabliſhed. The Nun-

1697. cio's informing the Primate, and the Members of the *Rokozs* of his Arrival, had no Effect upon them; nor was his propoſing Conditions of Accommodation more ſucceſsful. The Primate anſwered, that he was ready to receive with Submiſſion the Orders of the *Pope*, in what related to ſpiritual Affairs, and that if his Holineſs believed the Meaſures taken were ſufficient to remove the Prejudice againſt a Converſion, which ſeemed to be made from the Views of a Crown, he was as ready to acquieſce with his Holineſs in an Article of that Nature; but, continued he, as to what relates to the temporal Intereſts of the Republick, which a thouſand Reaſons oblige me to maintain, I cannot abandon them, without injuring my Character, without drawing upon me the Reproach of the whole Nation, and expoſing my ſelf to the Danger of anſwering perſonally for ſuch Conduct.

Primate's Anſwer to the Pope's Nuncio.

The Nuncio had imparted his Arrival to the Primate, before he had informed the Elector of it. From whence many People concluded, that Miniſter leſs in the Intereſt of that Prince, than the Nuncio *Davia* had been. But there was no great Myſtery in his Behaviour. The Primate was only firſt apprized of the Nuncio's Arrival, as he was neareſt to *Warſaw*. He was then at *Lowitz*, whereas the Elector was at *Dantzick*

Dantzick, and of Conſequence much more remote. 1697.

The 10th of *April*, that Prince ſet out from *Dantzick*, in Company with the *Margrave* of *Brandenburgh Bareith*, his Father in Law, and the Prince his Son, who came to join him. On the 14th he returned to *Warſaw*, to be preſent at the Diet of Pacification, which was ſummoned for the 16th. Tho' he knew, the petty Diets were moſt of them entirely broke up, or adjourned without coming to any Reſolution, he did not omit giving the neceſſary Orders for the General Aſſembly; and when the Day appointed arrived was determined the Diet ſhould open, tho' of two hundred Nuncio's, which were eſſential to forming the Diet, only thirty appeared, beſides a ſmall Number of the Senators, who were ſuſpected to come thither, more with Intention to break up the Aſſembly, than to take any ſalutary Reſolutions. Elector returns to *Warſaw*.

This Opinion was not a Miſtake. As ſoon as the Nuncio's were aſſembled, all of them in Conformity to their Inſtructions, roſe up and proteſted againſt the Aſſembly. The *Lithuanians* ſaid, amongſt other Things, they had Orders to retire, unleſs it was agreed to ſummon a Diet to be held in open Field. Others demanded, that the Elector ſhould nominate ſuch Perſons, as in Abuſe of his Liberality had ſold their Suffrages, Diet of Pacification broke up.

1697. and ſet a Price upon the publick Liberty, and the Crown; that they might be obliged to reſtore the Sums ſo taken, to be applyed in the Payment of the Troops; that thoſe Infringers of the national Liberty ſhould receive condign Puniſhment; and that the Cities, Towns, and Villages, ſhould be made amends for the Damages ſuſtained from the *Saxon* Troops.

Difficulties the Elector meets with.

The further they went, the more difficult it was for the Elector to bring them to reaſonable Terms. If that Prince had diſtributed Money amongſt Perſons, who had given him their Suffrages in return, which the Cuſtom of *Poland* had made almoſt indiſpenſable, was it reaſonable he ſhould be obliged to declare thoſe Perſons, and expoſe them to open Shame? On the other Side, in the preſent Situation of Affairs, a Diet in open Field was hardly more practicable. It had been the ſame Thing, as appointing a Rendezvous for a general Battle. The Elector's Partiſans did their utmoſt to engage the Deputies to reaſſemble, but in vain. His Council were at a Loſs what to reſolve upon: Some propoſed letting the ſix Weeks elapſe, the Time eſtabliſhed for the Duration of Diets: Others were of Opinion, it was better to refer it to another Time; which Advice was followed. It was not thought proper, however, to fix the Time for its being held

held, and conceived more convenient, to expect the Event of the Diet of Confederacy, which would determine the Continuance, or Concluſion of all Troubles. 1697.

On the 9th of *April* the Primate, and *Humieniſki*, Marſhal of the *Rokozs*, had publiſhed their Proclamations, for aſſembling a new Diet of the Confederates at *Lowitz*. Thoſe Proclamations imported, that tho' the laſt Aſſembly of the *Rokozs* had not the deſired Succeſs, the *Pope* nevertheleſs, ſenſible of the Evils with which *Poland* was afflicted, had ſent his Nuncio extraordinary, to endeavour the Re-eſtabliſhment of their Tranquillity; and that in deference to his Holineſs's good Intentions, they had come to the Reſolution of aſſembling another Diet for the 5th of *May* at *Lowitz*; at which they deſired the Preſence of all thoſe who had any Love for their Country, or Zeal for the *Catholick* Religion. Primate's Proclamations.

The Time appointed for this Diet being arrived, whilſt that ſummoned by the King diſperſed inſenſibly, the Marſhal of the *Rokozs* opened it with a Speech, wherein he expreſſed his Concern to ſee the Diet leſs numerous than he could have wiſhed, and complained of the Want of Zeal for the publick Safety. Part of thoſe, continued he, who have ſigned the Confederacy, keep quietly at Home, without giving any Rea- Aſſembly of the *Rokozs*.

1697. ſon for their Conduct, and others have no Thoughts but for their private Intereſts, and to make the beſt Conditions they can for themſelves. For my Part, added he, having no Motives but the diſcharge of my Duty, and the Repoſe of my Country, I have rejected all Offers, that have been made me, and exhort all People to behave in the ſame Manner.

Omen taken from it. At this firſt ſitting ſcarce forty Deputies appeared, which was a good Omen of the Iſſue of the Diet, and the Tranquillity, which ſeemed to take Place, gave Reaſon to hope the moſt favourable Conſequences. Before any Affair was laid upon the Carpet, it was reſolved to ſend two Deputies to the *Pope*'s Nuncio, to make him their Compliments, and deſire to know what he had to propoſe to the Aſſembly. Upon which the Diet adjourned to next Day. It was the Nuncio *Paulucci*, whom the Diet ſent to compliment, and who came to *Lowitz* the Day before the opening of the Aſſembly. On the 6th the Diet was hardly more numerous than the Day before. The Deputies reported the Succeſs of their Commiſſion. They ſaid, they could not ſufficiently acknowledge their Reception from the *Pope*'s Nuncio, who had declared his Holineſs's Inſtructions were, to uſe all poſſible Endeavours for reeſtabliſhing the Peace of the Kingdom. Upon

on which the Primate repreſented the diſtreſſed Condition, and Miſeries of the Republick, the Attempts upon the Liberty of the Nation, the Infraction of their Laws and Privileges, and the Diſorders committed by the foreign Troops. Let us not delay, added he, let us find out the moſt effectual Methods to deliver our Country from theſe Calamities, and to re-eſtabliſh the publick Peace and Tranquillity. 1697. Primate's Diſcourſe to the Diet.

He had only one Voice in the Aſſembly, of which all the Members were of Opinion, that Articles ſhould be prepared for their treating with the Commiſſioners, expected from the Elector. The *Pope*'s Nuncio informed that Prince of the Diet's good Diſpoſition, deſiring him to nominate immediately his Commiſſioners to treat with the Aſſembly, and adviſing him to loſe no Time, as the leaſt Delay might be prejudicial to his Affairs. Accordingly the next Day, the Elector diſpatched the Biſhop of *Kiow*, and the Prince of *Radzivil*, Vice Chancellor of *Lithuania*. Upon examining their Powers, they were found in good Form and ſufficiently ample; the Elector having authorized them to treat upon all Conditions, that ſhould be propoſed, provided they were neither contrary to his Dignity, the Rights of the Republick, nor the Cuſtoms of the Kingdom. The *Rokozs* conſent to treat with the Elector.

Treaty

1697. Treaty immediately began. The Nuncio took upon him the Office of Mediator for the Elector on one Side, and the Primate and the *Rokozs* on the other. He aſſiſted at all the Conferences and found the Primate more tractable than he expected.

Reaſons for the Primate changing his Conduct.

This Alteration proceeded from two different Cauſes. The ſmall Number of Gentlemen, who came to this Aſſembly, gave the Primate Reaſon to fear, he ſhould be abandoned by the Confederates, and made him conceive it Time to conclude his Accommodation. Beſides which it was known, the Elector had taken Meaſures for the March of Troops into the Kingdom, to ſupport himſelf upon the Throne by Force. Such a Project made it eſſential to reflect upon the new Misfortunes, which threatened the Republick, if they perſiſted in the Reſolution of not acknowledging that Prince. And on the other Hand they conſidered, how advantagious it would be to the Nation, not to provoke that Prince, to employ thoſe Troops in the Heart of the Kingdom, and to the loſs of his Subjects, which might be ſo much better apply'd in recovering the Lands, which the Infidels had uſurped upon *Poland*.

Diſpoſitions ſo favourable could not fail opening the Way to an Accommodation.

After

After ſeveral Debates, which more than once required the Nuncio's Interpoſition, that Mediator had the Satisfaction the 16th of *May*, to ſee all Difficulties removed, and the Members of the *Rokozs* diſpoſed to ſign the Agreement. At the Concluſion of the Conferences of that Day, the Primate made a Speech to the Aſſembly, in which he enlarged principally in Praiſe of the Elector. After which, the Agreement concluded in the particular Conferences, was read. And then it was demanded, whether they were not agreed, that the only Means to reſtore the publick Tranquillity, was to acknowledge the Elector of *Saxony* for the lawful Sovereign of *Poland*. To which the whole Aſſembly unanimouſly anſwered, that they were ready to acknowledge that Prince for King, upon the Conditions ſtipulated with the Plenipotentiaries. 1697. His Diſcourſe to the Diet.

Theſe Conditions were in Subſtance, that the Elector ſhould give new Proofs of his having embraced the *Roman Catholick* Religion; that he ſhould uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to induce the Electreſs to do the ſame; that he ſhould diſmiſs the *Lutheran* Miniſters, who were amongſt his Troops; that he ſhould paſs an authentick Act for the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Freedom of Elections; that he ſhould not draw back the Sums, he had diſtributed in *Poland*; that Conditions ſigned by the Elector.

1697. that he ſhould pay the Arrears due to the Army; and employ his Troops to retake *Kaminieck* to reunite it and *Podolia* to the Crown; that he ſhould afterwards diſmiſs the *Saxon* Troops; that he ſhould revoke his Grants of certain Demeſns, which ſhould be applyed for the future to the Uſes of his Houſhold, that he ſhould give the Preference to the Confederates, in the Diſtribution of Affairs and Employments, and in all Occaſions affecting the Republick. The Treaty further expreſſed, that the Primate ſhould confirm that Prince's Election, by giving him the Benediction in the great Church of *Warſaw*, the Courts of Juſtice to continue ſuſpended till that Ceremonial, which ſhould confirm him in the Poſſeſſion of the Crown.

Proteſt againſt the Accommodation.

Of all the Members of the Aſſembly, only *Kochanowſki*, Deputy of the Palatinate of *Sendomir*, oppoſed the Agreement, who withdrew with a Proteſt of Nullity againſt the Reſolutions they had taken. An Incident ſo little expected, ſurprized the Aſſembly, and occaſioned at firſt ſome Diſturbance. But the Primate having repreſented, that ſuch an oppoſition was only of Effect in a Diet, and not in Conferences and particular Aſſemblies, (of which Kind the *Rokozs* was,) into which every Body had a Right to enter, or to retire from it as they thought fit, his Reaſons

Reaſons were approved. It was their unanimous Reſolution to proceed, and the Treaty was accordingly ſigned by the Commiſſioners of the Elector, as his Plenipotentiaries, by the Nuncio, as Mediator, and Guarantee in the Name of the *Pope*, and by the Primate, the Marſhal of the *Rokozs*, and the Deputies of the Palatinates. 1697.

Diſſolution of the *Rokozs*.

After the ſigning of this Treaty, the Marſhal of the *Rokozs* as well in his own, as in the Names of all the Nuncio's complimented the Primate, and returned him Thanks for the Zeal he had expreſſed, in Defence of the Nation, and Support of the Laws of the Republick. He then broke his Staff of Office; to ſignify the entire Diſſolution of the *Rokozs*. After which they went in a Body to the great Church, where the *Te Deum* was ſung to the ringing of Bells, and the triple Diſcharge of all the Artillery. The Nuncio, with the King's two Commiſſioners, took their Places upon a Seat in Front of the archiepiſcopal Throne. The *Te Deum* being over, the Primate gave a magnificent Entertainment in the Caſtle, to which the Nuncio, the King's Commiſſioners, and all Perſons of Diſtinction were invited. The Healths of the *Pope*, and King, and the Preſervation of the publick Liberty were drank to the Diſcharge of twelve Pieces of Cannon

1697. Cannon. Thus ended this great Affair, of which the Succeſs had been different, if the Prince of *Conti* had been as near a Neighbour to *Poland*, as the Elector, or had been as powerfully ſupported.

BOOK III.



THE HISTORY OF POLAND UNDER AUGUSTUS II.

Book III.

AUGUSTUS began now to take breath. Free from the Inquietudes which a powerful Competitor had given him, he saw the Primate, and the Chiefs of the Confederacy reduced at last to unite the remainder 1698.

1698. of their Party, which decreaſed daily, to the body of the Nation in his Intereſt. Nothing was now wanting, but the Ceremony of Homage they were to pay him, which was fixed for the 22d of *May*. On that day they came to *Warſaw* with a Train of more than thirty Coaches, which the Senators had ſent to meet them. The Primate was received at the Caſtle by the Grand Marſhal, who conducted him to the Hall where *Auguſtus* expected him. The haughty Prelate did not renounce his Authority and the Regency without extreme reluctance. Incapable of perpetuating the *Interregnum*, he employed his whole Addreſs in protracting it to the utmoſt. The King would have had the Interview in a Chamber, where a Throne and Canopy of State were prepared for him: But the Primate inſiſted he could have no Right to them, till after the Election had been ſolemnly confirmed. *Auguſtus* judg'd it improper to hazard by an unſeaſonable Delicacy, the Advantages of a Treaty ſo happily concluded. He comply'd, and advanc'd ſome Steps to receive the Primate, who made him a ſhort Compliment in the *French* Language. He ſaid, That if it was his ill Fortune to be the laſt in paying his moſt humble Reſpects, he had at leaſt the Satisfaction of bringing with him the Effects ſo long deſired, the Hearts of the People and the publick Tranquility, which he laid at his

The Primate or principal Confederates have Audience of the King.

his Majesty's Feet; to whom he vowed a constant and inviolable Adherence. The King's Answer was also in *French*, in the most gracious Terms. *Humieniski*, Marshal of the *Rokozs*, carrying the Marks of that Dignity during the whole Ceremony, spoke in his turn, and was answer'd, in the most obliging manner, by the Great Chamberlain in the King's Name. 1698. Compliments on both Sides.

The Audience being over, the Primate went with the King into his Cabinet, where they had a Conference of two Hours. The Prelate had occasion for all his Address, to evade the Instances which were made to engage him to set the Example of taking the Oaths of Fidelity to the King. The Advances he had made, seemed to make it inconsistent to recede: He found Excuses however to evade his Compliance, and insisted that the Election should be confirm'd by a Diet, which was the Subject of a new Conference the next Day. Primate raises Difficulties, and refuses to take the Oath of Fidelity.

It was very improper for *Augustus*, already crown'd, to consent that the Validity of his Election and Coronation should be debated in a new Diet. In so doing, the Diet of Coronation would no longer have taken place, without which the King would appear to agree, that all which had passed at *Cracow*, was null and illegal. The Primate who was resolv'd to raise as many Difficulties as possible, insisted that there was a Necessity

1698. for holding an Assembly, to be called a Diet of Pacification, in order to remove the Imputations against the King's Party. It will be seen in the course of this History, that the Primate did not look upon the Oath of Fidelity as indispensible, and there would be room to wonder at his refusing to take it, when required, if his Conduct did not sufficiently explain his Reasons for such Behaviour. He was well pleased, the Nation should believe him the last in submitting, and the King understand at the same time, he was conscious to himself of having it in his power to give him no small Trouble, if that Prince should not observe such Measures with him, as he should approve.

First Affairs of *Augustus.* From this Time, *Augustus* began to act as King: Many Cares came upon him at once. He had engaged to retake *Kaminieck*, and that Engagement was an Essential in his Treaty with the Republick, which would not have elected him without it. The Elector of *Brandenburgh* was very earnest to be reimbursed the 300000 Rixdollars, which he claimed in virtue of a Treaty, made in 1657, between the Elector his Father and King *Casimire*: But what seemed most important, was the re-establishment of Peace in *Lithuania*.

Sapieha was supported by the Army, of which he was Great General, and *Oginski* by the Nobility of the Dutchy, not less offended

offended than himſelf at the exorbitant Authority, uſurped by the *Sapieha's*, in appropriating to themſelves all the great Offices to their liking. It was eſſential to put an end as ſoon as poſſible to Differences, that might improve into a Civil War. The King thought fit to diſcharge himſelf from the trouble of this Reconciliation, by referring it to the Senate, who aſſembled by his Order toward the End of *May*. 1698.

Senate aſſembles.

In it the Deputies from the Army of *Lithuania*, made their Complaints againſt *Oginski*, and demanded that Proviſion ſhould be made for the Payment of the Army, in order for its being put into a Condition to ſerve effectively that Campaign.

Regulations made.

In the Month of *April*, the Emperor had imparted to the Republick the *Ottoman* Port's Deſire, of entering into a Treaty of Peace under the Mediation of *England* and *Holland*; inviting them to appoint their Miniſters to treat on the Part of *Poland*. This Affair had been deferr'd for the King's Reſolution, who by Advice of the Senate nominated the Secretary *Genoſinski* to open that Treaty. *Reiſenitz*, one of the Privy Council, was ſent to the Court of *Brandenburgh* to continue the good Underſtanding between the two Princes.

Queen Dowager deſires to retire to *Rome*.

The Dowager of *Sobieski*, finding no longer the ſame Satisfactions in *Poland* ſhe had experienced as Queen and Mother of three

1698. Princes, Candidates for their Father's Throne, had thoughts of Retiring. Her Native Country, *France*, had been the moſt agreeable Retreat to her, if in her greateſt Proſperity ſhe had ſhewed the *French* Nation more Reſpect; but offended at *Lewis* XIV's not granting the dignity of Duke and Peer to her Father, the Marqueſs of *Arquien*, as ſhe had deſired, ſhe had long expreſs'd a diſlike of every Thing that bore the Name of *French*; and her laſt Conduct during the Election, gave her little reaſon to expect the beſt Reception from a Court, to which ſhe was born a Subject, and where the ill Offices ſhe had done the Prince of *Conti*, were far from being forgot: She therefore thought *Rome* the moſt proper Place for her Reſidence, and that it was beſt to ſpeak of her Abſence, only as a Journey for two Years; and leſt it ſhould give room to treat her with Injuſtice, and prejudice her Pretenſions upon the Republick, ſhe deſired the King and Senate's Permiſſion; who complied with the Requeſt.

It was not ſo eaſy to raiſe the neceſſary Supplies, for putting the Artillery into a Condition for the Service of that Campaign. Very good Reſolutions were taken as uſual, but their Execution was not equally happy; ſo that the Crown-Artillery were no better provided for than before.

A Progreſs the King made into *Pruſſia*, the Beginning of *June*, and his Interview with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, at *Johanſburgh*, who came thither from *Konnigſburgh*, gave occaſion for various Speculations. They made a great hunting match at that Place, and after having paſſed ſome Days together, in the Pleaſures which the Seaſon and the Country afforded, returned to their Capitals. Several of the Senators, and ſome of the Grandees, among whom were the Biſhop of *Plosko*, the Princes *Lubomirski* and *Czartoreski*, and the Great Treaſurer of *Lithuania*, attended the King in this Journey. There was reaſon to hope, this Interview would have prevented the Miſunderſtanding between the Kingdom and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, in regard to his Pretenſion before mention'd: But the Event diſcovered the ſame Year, that it was either not called in Queſtion at all, or the Accommodations propoſed were inſufficient.

1698. Interview between the King and Elector of *Brandenburgh*.

Auguſtus was no ſooner returned to *Warſaw*, than he reſumed his Deſign of reconciling the Biſhop of *Cujavia* who conſecrated him, and the Primate who looked upon that Action as an unpardonable Injury. He invited them both to an Entertainment at *Willanow*, at which the Pope's two Nuncios, and a great Number of the Senators were preſent. The Primate made this Deſign of no effect, offering to lay aſide all Perſonal Animoſity, but inſiſted at the ſame

Attempts to reconcile the Biſhop of *Cujavia* and the Primate.

1698. time, that it ſhould be referred to the Republick to decide, whether the Biſhop of *Cujavia* had a Right to proclaim or crown a King. *Auguſtus* would have hazarded more than the Biſhop, in admitting this Deciſion; ſo the Accommodation was ſuſpended, and the Entertainment went on after the Poliſh Cuſtom of drinking late in the Night.

Troubles in *Lithuania.*

The Quarrel of the Great General *Sapieha* and Great Standard-bearer *Oginski*, was far more dangerous than that of the two Prelates. The King, who had it much at Heart to terminate their Difference, ſent Orders for each of them to repair to *Warſaw*: *Sapieha* obeyed, and arrived there the 19*th* of *June* with a numerous Retinue. *Oginski* did not think proper to go thither in Perſon, but thought beſt to ſend his Brother, with full Powers, to conclude the Accommodation.

The *Lithuanian* Nobility ſent at the ſame time their Deputies, to complain of the Conduct of the *Sapieha*'s, and to preſent ſuch Articles from them, as they Thought were proper to be inſerted in the Treaty: To which Regard was had, and they ſerved in ſome meaſure as the Baſis of the concluded Agreement.

The Parties ſign a Treaty.

The principal of thoſe Articles related to the *Coequation* or Equality of the Privileges of the *Lithuanian* Nobility with that of *Poland*: A free and general Pardon for all who had

had followed either of the Parties: The Diſmiſſion of the *Tartars* retained in the Dutchy, under the Standards of the *Sapieha*'s: The Eſtabliſhment of ſome Companies, to be compos'd of *Lithuanian* Gentlemen, and to be raiſed that Campaign and commanded by the Grand Marſhal, with redreſs of the principal Grievances and Oppreſſions. It was further concluded, that the Grand Marſhal, the Treaſurer, and General of *Lithuania*, ſhould have exactly and no further, the ſame Prerogatives with thoſe of *Poland*, notwithſtanding any Cuſtom or Privilege to the contrary: That the Great General ſhould deliver no Appointments, for the Payment of Troops to the Commiſſaries, but in preſence of the Treaſurer: That ſuch Commiſſaries, in conformity to the King's circular Letters, ſhould be elected in the Palatinates, and confirm'd by the General Diet: That the Army ſhould conſiſt of nine thouſand Men only; and that all Injuries received and Damages ſuſtained, ſhould be forgotten reciprocally by each Party. Some Articles, which could not be agreed upon, were referred to the approaching Diet. 1698.

The King ſigned the Treaty on the 23d of *July*, with the Deputies of the two Parties, and well knowing the Importance of engaging the Great General of *Lithuania* in his Intereſt, took his Meaſures ſo well as Combat of the *Lithuanians*.

1698. as to effect it, *Sapieha* came to an Agreement, from which he could never after recede. When he concluded that Accommodation, he was not apprized of what passed the same Day in *Lithuania*. The Prince, his Son, to whom he had left the Command of the Army in his Absence, resolved to signalize himself by some Action of Valour. On the 22d he marched at the Head of twelve Troops of Horse, twelve of Dragoons, and seven Battalions of Foot, carrying with him seven Field-pieces of Cannon loaded with Cartridge-Shot. The next Morning he approached near *Jurgenburgh* in *Samogitia*, in sight of the great Standard-bearer, *Oginski*'s Camp, who immediately drew up in Battle, and prepared to give him a warm Reception. His Troops could not stand before the Fire of *Sapieha*'s Artillery, and fled in such Disorder, that many of them were drowned in the *Niemen*. *Oginski* himself got off with great Difficulty to *Sheidlake* in *Ducal Prussia*, situate below the joining of the Rivers *Niemen* and *Memmet*. A small Number of his Troops followed him thither, whom he rallied, but lost four Pieces of Cannon, his Baggage, and all the Money he had for the Payment of his Troops.

Oginski defeated.

King's Mandate to the Subjects of *Lithuania*.

The News of this Combat made no Alteration at *Warsaw*, the Accommodation subsisting as before. And the King to make an

an immediate uſe of it in appeaſing the Troubles, publiſhed a Mandate, which was in Subſtance, That ſince his coming to the Crown, he had endeavoured by himſelf and Mediators to re-eſtabliſh the Peace and good Underſtanding of the States of *Lithuania*, that as it was neceſſary all Hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe, it was his Will to make known to all in general, and every one in particular, that as ſoon as the Army of *Lithuania* ſhould march to begin the Campaign, all Perſons ſhould lay down their Arms, and retire to their reſpective Homes: That if after that time any one ſhould preſume to excite or foment new Troubles, he ſhould be excluded entirely from all Privileges of Nobility, and ſubject to ſuch farther Puniſhment, as the national Laws inflict upon Diſturbers of the publick Tranquillity. In Execution of the Treaty, and Conformity to this Mandate, *Sapieha* ſent Orders for the Army to march towards *Leopold*. 1698.

He prepares for the Campaign.

Auguſtus had ſtill in view the taking of *Kaminieck*, and not without good Reaſon; as well to keep a Body of *Saxon* Troops about him, as to employ the warlike Temper of the *Poliſh* Nation, and facilitate by ſome happy Event the Succeſs of the approaching Negotiations. The *Saxons*, intended to ſecond the Arms of the Republick, were cantoned in ſeveral Parts of *Poland*, and particularly in the Country about *Cracow*. The Duke

1698. Duke of *Wirtemberg*, who was to command them, was arrived ſome time before, and had been ſeveral times in conference with the King, upon the Operations of the Campaign. The Magazines were ſtored with all things neceſſary for the Army's Subſiſtence. That of the Crown were aſſembled near the little Town of *Monaſteriz* in *Pokutia* upon the Borders of *Podolia*. The *Saxon* Troops were to rendezvous about *Leopold*, where they were to expect the King's Arrival. To which Purpoſe that Prince left *Warſaw*, and arrived at *Rava* the 10th of *Auguſt*, where he found the *Czar*, who was come thither from *Leopold* to confer with him.

He comes to *Rava*.

Peter Alexowitz, *Czar* of *Ruſſia*, after a ſhort Stay at *Vienna*, and having viſited ſeveral Places upon the *Danube*, had returned to the Capital of *Auſtria* to take his Leave of the Emperor, who had ſpared neither Pains nor Magnificence to make his Reception the more ſplendid. It was believed he intended for *Venice*, and his Equipages had taken that Rout, when on a ſudden he turned about for *Cracow* to return to his Dominions, where the ſeditious Conduct of ſome of his Subjects, emboldened by his Abſence, made his Preſence neceſſary. From thence he went to *Leopold*, where he expected to find the King of *Poland*; but not meeting him there, he went on to *Rava*, where

His Interview with the *Czar*.

where the two Monarchs paſſed three Days in concerting the Scheme of their Alliance. It was there they contracted that Friendſhip which united them in its Conſequence, and from which *Auguſtus* reaped moſt Advantage: They parted the 13th of *Auguſt*; the *Czar* for his Dominions, and the King for *Leopold*, where he arrived the 15th. 1698.

On the 16th he made his Publick Entry on Horſeback, preceded by the Companies of Merchants and *Armenians* of the City, who marched in the Rear of Count *Joblonowski*, Great General of the Crown's Company of Guards. The Biſhops of *Cujavia* and *Javarin*, and the two Princes *Sobieski* went next; after whom came *Auguſtus*, followed by the Great and Under Generals of *Poland* and a Number of other Lords. His Life-Guard cloſed the March. At the Gate of the City he received the Compliments of the Magiſtrates, who conducted him under a Canopy of State to a Triumphal Arch, prepared for his Reception; and from thence to the Cathedral, where *Te Deum* was ſung, and the Maſs celebrated. At his coming out of Church he made a Viſit to the Queen Dowager, who was come to *Leopold* to wait on him, and to recommend her Family and Intereſts to his Favour. He arrives at *Leopold* and makes his publick Entry.

On the 18th he held a great Council, at which the Senators, *Poliſh* Generals, and principal Officers of the *Saxon* Troops were preſent. Council of War.

1698. preſent. In it the Operations of the Campaign were conſidered. Opinions never were more different. Some were for beſieging *Kaminieck*, and judged if that Place were attacked in form, it might be carried before Winter, and by that Conqueſt the Enemy be removed from the Frontier. The Glory and Advantage of the Project was more in their view than the Obſtacles to the Execution of it.

Sentiments differ. Some for the Siege of *Kaminieck*

The Sentiments of others were quite different. They obſerved the Seaſon was too far advanced; the Troops already fatigued by long Marches; the Magazines exhauſted in the Delay; and the Army in danger of wanting Proviſions in a Country, where they could not be had, but at a great Diſtance. Inſtead of undertaking the Siege, the Succeſs of which was uncertain, they thought it better to fall upon *Moldavia*, to ſeize the moſt important Poſts there, to cut off the Communication of the *Turks* with *Kaminieck*, to prevent the paſſing of Convoys, and to quarter the *German* Troops in that Province during the Winter. They admitted it reaſonable to expect, the *Turks* and *Tartars* would ravage it themſelves, to prevent the *Poles* and *Germans* from any Means of ſubſiſting in it; but they believed it practicable to fruſtrate that Deſign by extreme Diligence.

Others for the Conqueſt of *Moldavia*.

To

To theſe Difficulties others added, that the *Turks*, having had time to take their Precautions, had thrown a ſufficient Number of Men and Proviſions into *Kaminieck* to ſupport a long Siege. They obſerved that many of the Troops were not arrived; and that it could not be expected they ſhould join the main Body ſo ſoon as might be deſired, thro' the Badneſs of the Way occaſioned by the Fall of Rains. However, continued they, Accounts from *Vienna* agree, that the Concluſion of a Peace is very much ſolicited, and what Regard may be had to our Intereſts in that Treaty is uncertain, notwithſtanding the League between the Emperor, the *Venetians*, and us; eſpecially if we perſiſt to continue a War, whoſe being at an End is as neceſſary to our ſelves as our Allies. They concluded, that in the preſent Conjuncture the beſt Method was to join in a Treaty of Peace, which, as it was equally the Deſire of all Parties, could not be very remote. 1698. Others for Peace with the *Turk*.

Every one perſiſted obſtinately in their own Opinion; and the Council broke up without coming to any Reſolution. They met again the following Days; but it was not thought proper to admit ſo great a Number of Perſons. Their Voices were however no more unanimous, and the Majority ſeemed to incline to Peace.

Thoſe,

1698. New Council of War.

Reaſons for the War.

Thoſe, who were for carrying on the War vigorouſly, did not want Reaſons to ſupport their Opinion, They repreſented that *Poland*, to whom the Empire owed its Safety, and the *Venetians* their Conqueſts, had not yet gained one Foot of Land: That it was in vain to expect the *Turks* would give them that by a Treaty, which they could not take from them Sword in hand: That whatever Inclinations the Emperor might have for Peace, it was not impoſſible to change his Sentiments, by repreſenting the Advantages he might acquire from a powerful Diverſion of *Poland*, whilſt he acted vigorouſly on his own Side: That ſupported by ſuch Hopes, that Monarch would be cautious of violating a fundamental Article of the Alliance by a ſeparate Treaty, and that after all it would not be the firſt time, *Poland* had been known to ſupport the whole Weight of the *Ottoman* Arms alone, and that with conſiderable Advantage. They added, it was the King's Intereſt to do ſome great Action, as glorious for himſelf as beneficial to the Republick; to which he was beſides engaged not to lay down his Arms before the Reduction of *Kaminieck*, and that he could not be wanting to his Promiſe without forfeiting the Eſteem and Confidence of the Nation. They concluded with obſerving, that the King's Authority could not be better eſtabliſhed

than

than by a War; for whilſt he was at the Head of his Troops, he was in condition to add to his Dependants by his Favours, and to keep thoſe in awe who were proof againſt them. 1698.

To Reaſons ſo plauſible were oppoſed others that appeared to have no leſs Weight. This would do, ſaid the contrary Party, if the Succeſs before *Kaminieck* was not uncertain. But who can be aſſured of the taking a Place, abundantly provided for its Defence by the *Turks*, long apprized of the intended Siege? And with what Troops? Thoſe of *Saxony* are much diminiſhed by Fatigues and Diſeaſes, and are not ſufficient alone to undertake ſuch a Conqueſt: And for the *Poles* there is no reckoning upon them. The natural Averſion of the two Nations for each other forbids it; and there is no prevailing upon them to act in Concert. They went on to enlarge upon the malignant Pleaſure the Miſcarriage of this Enterprize would give the ſecret Enemies of *Auguſtus*: That if he ſhould ſuffer the Diſgrace of raiſing the firſt Siege, he would be utterly diſcredited with the *Poles*: That his Coffers were almoſt empty, and his Treaſury exhauſted, thro' the inſatiable Avarice of an Infinity of People, to whom he had given his Money with Profuſion: That his Obligations to the Emperor, who had not a little contributed to placing him Reaſons againſt it.

1698. upon the Throne, well deſerved, the King ſhould have the Complaiſance to conſent to a Peace ſo ardently deſired by his Imperial Majeſty: That it was a groſs Miſtake to believe he would not conclude it ſeparately, if the King refuſed to concur in negotiating and ſigning the Treaty: That his Intereſt in concluding it was too great, and the Motives in juſtification of his Conduct too plauſible, not to excuſe the Neglect of a too ſcrupulous Propriety: That in ſuch caſe *Poland* was in no condition to reſiſt the whole Force of the *Turks*, which would then undoubtedly be turned againſt them, and could much leſs flatter themſelves with being able in their Circumſtances to make Conqueſts upon them: That if theſe were times of more Union, more Riches, and better Troops in *Poland*, Delays would be utterly inconſiſtent: And as for the ſuppoſed Advantages the King might make of the War in eſtabliſhing himſelf upon the Throne, that was anſwered in the wide difference between other States and *Poland*, where the King, far from being always Maſter of his Troops, was often obliged to abandon himſelf to their Diſcretion, and to ſacrifice his Counſels and Intereſts to the Caprice of the Army: That the King, by making Peace, would be diſengaged from his Promiſe to retake *Kaminieck*, and would ſpare himſelf the Expence of a Million, which that Enterprize

terprize muſt coſt him: That in fine the moſt certain Means for the King to be eſteemed, beloved, and even feared by the *Poles*, was to re-eſtabliſh his Finances, which were impoſſible, ſhould the War be prolonged upon the Foot it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſupport it. 1698.

Auguſtus obſerving the Earneſtneſs with which his Reſolutions were expected, uſed two Precautions at the ſame time: One was to appoint Ambaſſadors for the Treaty of Peace, and the other to prepare his Army, and to be in readineſs againſt all Events.

Review and Movement of the *Saxons*.

The King reſolving to continue idle no longer, reviewed the Troops the 6th of *September*, which encamped the Day following at *Gliniani*, a ſmall Town in the Neighbourhood of *Leopold*. Advice came about this time that a Detachment of *Tartars* had entered *Volhinia*, ravaged the Country as far as *Brody*, and defeated a Part of the Crown Army commanded by the Palatine *Szdeſchi*. He thought it no longer proper to defer putting himſelf at the Head of his Troops, and went the 11th with the Duke of *Wirtemberg* to the Camp at *Gliniani*, where his Baggage and Artillery with thoſe of the Crown arrived the Night before.

The Generals *Braun* and *Zacherowski* marched with a Detachment of *Poliſh* Horſe and Foot to the Fort *La Trinité*, to oblige the *Tartars* to draw together, and call in

1698. the Party ſpoken of before; and at the ſame time to diſcover whether their Army was really ſo ſtrong as ſome Priſoners reported. Every thing ſeemed to denote the Siege of *Kaminieck*, and the Tartars kept upon their guard.

March of the Crown Army. The Crown Army, which had been ſometime at *Monaſteriz* upon the *Nieſter*, had Orders to march to *Podhaicia*, to join the *Saxon* Troops who were advancing thither. The *Tartars*, who had Advice of their March and Strength, reſolved to attack them before they joined the King, and followed them with their uſual Swiftneſs, to the Number of thirty five thouſand under the command of two Sultans. They either cut in pieces, or made Priſoners all the Stragglers of the Troops. The *Poliſh* Army arrived however in the Suburbs of *Podhaicia*, where they drew up in battle, in caſe the Enemy, who were but half a League diſtant, ſhould come to attack them.

The *Tartars* attack it. Their Precaution was not vain. The next Morning being the 9th, at break of Day they had ſcarce formed in three Lines when the *Tartars* ſuddenly fell on. They inſtantly put the advanced Guard to flight, and threw themſelves upon the front Line, who received the firſt Shock without breaking. At the ſame time they attacked the Rear, and put the Wings in diſorder, which they alſo charged, having ſurrounded the whole

whole Army. They ſoon opened a Paſſage to the Baggage, which they plundered entirely, and where the Great General loſt his whole Equipage. 1698.

This Plunder ſaved the *Poliſh* Army, which was then in the utmoſt Confuſion. The *Tartars*, who thought of nothing but the Booty, gave them time to rally and renew the Charge with Succeſs. They repulſed them at laſt, after a Fight of eight Hours, in which the Artillery, which was perfectly well ſupplied, was of the greateſt Service. The Plunder however which the *Tartars* had ſeized could not be recovered, nor could they hinder their burning the Suburbs and part of the City of *Podhaicia*. The *Poles*, who were only eight thouſand Men, loſt about nine hundred Soldiers and Officers upon this occaſion, of whom four were *Staroſts*. The Number of Priſoners and wounded was much greater. Among the firſt were the Great General *Jablonowski*'s Son and two *Staroſts*. The Booty coſt the *Tartars* dear, of whom a dreadful Slaughter enſued.

The King, whoſe firſt Accounts of this Battle were confuſed, expected the *Tartars* would come on to attack him, and drew up his Army in Line of Battle; when two Priſoners were brought in who aſſured him the *Tartars* were retiring towards *Kaminieck*. Safe on that ſide he went to review the King reviews it.

1698. Troops of the Crown, who continued under the Walls of *Padhaicia*, and at his return called a great Council of War to consult proper Measures for employing the rest of the Campaign effectively.

Projects thwarted. The only Methods in his power were evident. The Army of *Lithuania* was not yet arrived, and Provisions began to grow short. The *Turks* and *Tartars* were in such Numbers at *Kaminieck* and the Parts adjacent, that they were strong enough at once to defend the Place in case of attack, and to intercept Convoys. The Hospodar of *Moldavia* had excused himself from quartering Troops, and it was judged necessary to send back the Crown Army into the Kingdom, and to distribute the *Germans* into *Poland*, *Lithuania*, and upon the Frontier about *Fort la Trinité*, in order to cut off the Entrance of Provisions into *Kaminieck*, the Siege of which Place was referred to next Year. The *Tartars* had been reinforced by Troops of their own Nation, and by a Body of Janizaries, and the *Polish* Army could not have attacked them but with the greatest hazard. That of *Lithuania*, which arrived soon after, did not make the Enterprize more easy; and the Adventure that happened when the King went to review them, gave him a just Sense of what he might expect from the two Armies upon occasion.

Arrival of the *Lithuanians*.

It

1698. Jealouſy of the *Poles* and *Saxons.*

It were difficult to ſay whether the *Tartars* or the *Poles* were more offended with the Preſence of the *Saxon* Troops. The *Tartars* far from having the *Germans* in contempt, looked upon them as the greateſt Obſtacle to their Progreſs: The *Poles* on their ſide little moved with the preſent Utility of an auxiliary Army, conſidered only the danger of their Liberty: An Evidence of which Temper they gave the Palatine of *Marienburgh*, whoſe only Fault was his being well affected to the King's Party. The *Staroſt Kroſmaſtowski* accuſed him of having reflected upon the *Poliſh* Nation, and given his Advice that the *German* Troops ſhould enter the Kingdom. Their Rage roſe ſo high that the *Staroſt* and ſome other Officers by his Example, without regard to the Dignity of Palatine and Senator, or to his being the King's Favourite, fell on him Sabre in hand with that Fury, that they would have cut him to pieces if he had not happily eſcaped acroſs the Tents. This Affair blew up ſuch a Flame, that the King believing himſelf no longer ſafe in the *Poliſh* Camp, made as faſt as poſſible to his own, and drew up his Army in battle, with deſign to do himſelf Juſtice by force, in caſe the Crown Generals ſhould refuſe to puniſh the Authors of the Diſorder. That Army it ſelf was not exempt from the ſame Animoſity with the *Lithuanians*. They accuſed the

Palatine of *Marienburgh* inſulted in the *Lithuanian* Camp.

The King retires from their Camp and draws up his own in battle.

1698. Palatine of having prevented the Payment of their Arrears, and put themſelves alſo into a poſture of defence.

The two Armies continued in this Diſpoſition from two in the Afternoon till Midnight, during which time People went frequently backwards and forwards between the Camps: But the Generals of the *Poliſh* Army having given the King to underſtand they threatened to confederate with the Nobility, who were already too much incenſed againſt the foreign Troops, *Auguſtus* made uſe of the Intelligence and thought only of putting an end to the Campaign as ſoon as poſſible. He ſuſpended his Reſentment and Projects, and went to *Leopold*, having firſt given his Orders for the Diſtribution of the Winter Quarters. This Incident explained the Importance of having acted upon the Plan propoſed in the laſt Council of War. The *Poles* did not forget the Conduct of *Auguſtus* in withdrawing from theirs to his own Army, and in ranging the laſt in battle, as if his Deſign had been to have come to Blows, and to have righted himſelf by the force of Arms; and remembered alſo the violent and ſeditious Behaviour of their own Officers, and each Party ſufficiently comprehended of what conſequence it was to the *Poles* to remove the *Germans*, and to the King to retain them for his Security.

He ſeparates the Armies. End of the Campaign

Divi-

Diviſion thus prevented the Armies from taking the Field, as they might have done with good effect; and the ſame Diſcord occaſioned their remaining in a ſhameful Inaction. *Poland* had not ſeen a long time ſo fine a Body of Troops nor in ſuch Numbers, which however were of no Service for want of Union. The Army of the Crown and that of *Lithuania*, had beſides only fifty field Pieces in their Train; the great Artillery, of which they were abſolutely in want, not being yet arrived from *Saxony*. It ſeemed as if the three Armies had been only drawn together to ſeparate immediately into the Quarters aſſigned them. *Flemming*'s Regiment with all the *German* Horſe marched into *Lithuania*. The Regiments of *Denhof*, *Berenſtein*, and *Jordan*, took the Rout of *Warſaw*, where they were to winter. 1698.

New Troubles in *Lithuania*.

The King did not defer going thither in Perſon to put ſome end to the Troubles of *Lithuania*. The Differences between the *Sapiehas* and the Nobility were far from being reconciled. The Treaty mediated by the King and Senate had not re-eſtabliſhed Peace. Upon the firſt News of the Accommodation the Nuncio's diſapproved the Conditions, tho' moſt of the Articles were taken from the Demands made by their Deputies in their Names. They aſſembled at *Wilna*, elected a Marſhal, and proteſted againſt the Treaty of *Warſaw*. To give their rejecting it

1698. it an appearance of Propriety, it was neceſſary to declare their Deputies had exceeded their Inſtructions, and had no Authority to conclude an Agreement upon Conditions ſo inconſiſtent with their Senſe: Which they did accordingly, and reſolved to ſummon the whole Nobility to *Grodno*, the 15th of *October*, and to raiſe part of the Money due to the Army of *Lithuania*, in order to ſatisfy the Troops, and engage them in their Intereſt. Hoſtilities began again in ſeveral places, and the Houſe of *Radzivil's* Lands had no more favour than thoſe of other Perſons.

Elector of *Brandenburgh's* Enterprize upon *Elbing*.

The King was ſtill at *Leopold*, when news came of the Elector of *Brandenburgh's* having ſeized the City of *Elbing*. We have already ſaid, that Prince had a Claim upon *Poland*, that the Debt had been contracted in the Reign of *Caſimire*, who had engaged the City of *Elbing*, as a Mortgage to ſecure the Payment. The Affair was now of forty Years ſtanding, and the Elector would be delayed no longer. The 17th of *October* he wrote to the King and Republick of *Poland*, and demanded that the City of *Elbing* ſhould be ſurrender'd to him in Caution, till the Reimburſement of what was due to him, according to the Treaty of *Welaw* in 1657. Whether *Auguſtus* regarded this Claim only as a matter of Form from a Creditor, who thought fit to put him in mind of his Right,

or

or was perſwaded the Elector only threatened, without intending to infringe the ancient Alliance between *Poland* and *Brandenburgh*, which had been renew'd the 8th of *June* the ſame Year, he made no haſte to Anſwer. The Elector however, at the ſame time he wrote this Letter, publiſhed a Manifeſto in which he ſet forth, that his Debt was founded upon a Treaty, confirmed with all others by the new Alliance made with the King and Republick: That the ancient Treaty ſtipulated among other Articles, that the City of *Elbing* ſhould be put into the Elector's Hands, as a Security for the Contract made in conſideration of the Services of the Arms of *Brandenburgh*, which had contributed in preventing the Ruin of *Poland*, and in re-eſtabliſhing its ancient Liberties: That however after a delay of forty Years, and many fruitleſs Remonſtrances, that Article had not been executed; the Elector therefore, having no longer any Hopes of the City's being voluntarily ſurrendered to him, was at length reſolved to take poſſeſſion of it by ſuch Means as were in his Power, and that without Hoſtilities if poſſible. He pretended in ſo doing only to act conſiſtently with what he might have done long before, according to his Right acquired in virtue of a Perpetual Alliance ſolemnly ſworn, and ſeemed to expect his Conduct would not be diſapproved

1698.

His Manifeſto.

1698. diſapproved by his *Poliſh* Majeſty, as it removed a juſt Reproach from the King and Republick for infringing a Perpetual Alliance. He proteſted his Intention was to obſerve religiouſly the Treaties his Predeceſſors and himſelf had made with the Republick, and promiſed to preſerve the Rights and Privileges of the City of *Elbing*, and only to take poſſeſſion of that Place in right of Caution, which he engaged to reſign without delay as ſoon as the Debt ſhould be diſcharged.

He orders the Place to be inveſted.

The Elector's Letter at the ſame time to the Primate, was much to the ſame effect: He notified his Pretenſions to the Magiſtracy of *Elbing*, who deſired a Delay. Their Secretary, who was diſpatch'd to *Berlin* to obtain a Compliance with that Requeſt, could not prevent the City's being inveſted. In vain did the *Burghers*, by their Letter of *October* 24th, repreſent to the Elector, that the Article of the Treaties, by which King *Caſimire* mortgaged their Town, was made without their Participation, and without their giving the leaſt room for it; and that the ſame King and the Republick had releaſed them from it, by obliging themſelves to the payment of the Sums promiſed the Elector. That they underſtood with Grief the Satisfaction had not been made, but hoped in conſideration of the Reſpect, they had always teſtify'd for him, he would indulge them

them in time to apply to the King of *Poland*, and to implore an immediate Diſcharge of the Debt, and that, let what would be the Event, they would endeavour to find Means of ſatisfying his Electoral Highneſs. 1698.

The Elector continued firm in his Demand of the Execution of the Treaty, inſiſting upon the Payment, or the Mortgage; and as the Inhabitants had expreſſed an Intention to defend themſelves, he inſinuated his deſire to take poſſeſſion without Hoſtilities: That it depended upon themſelves to prevent the Ruin of their City, and gave them hopes of the utmoſt Favour, in caſe they conſented to open him their Gates. He added he had given Orders to ſuſpend Hoſtilities till the return of their Secretary, and till they ſhould make known their Intention; but upon condition their Anſwer ſhould be immediate and deciſive; and that if they deferred it in the leaſt, their Silence ſhould be underſtood as an Intention to fruſtrate his Rights. He was far from rejecting their Offer to pay the Debt themſelves; but did not believe them in a Condition alone to advance the Money; that he looked upon that Propoſal, only as a Means to gain Time, and that if they had ſuch a Deſign, it might as well be executed after the Entrance of his Garriſon. At the ſame time he gave them to underſtand, they hazarded

1698. zarded every thing, if their Reſiſtance reduced him to proceed to the laſt Extremities.

He threatens to bombard it.

Leſt theſe Threats ſhould not make ſufficient Impreſſion, he annex'd an irreſiſtible kind of Argument. His General *Braun* was commanded to point five Pieces of Cannon and eleven Mortars againſt the Town, and Batteries were raiſed accordingly before the Market Port, and ſix Cannon more planted before the Port of *Muhien*. The General obey'd his Orders, and every thing was ready to batter in Breach the 9th of *November*.

Braun ſhewed the City's Deputies his Preparations, told them his Orders, and perſwaded them to prevent the Loſs of their Effects, and the Ruin of their Families. There was no occaſion for ſo much Preparation to terrify Citizens little accuſtomed to Sights of that kind. Their Repreſentations, the Idea of an inevitable Bombardment, the Elector's Promiſe of Protection in caſe of Submiſſion, the little Appearance that the King would come to their Relief in time, all promoted the Capitulation, which was ſigned the 11th of *November*. The Maintenance of their Privileges and Religion, Schools and Hoſpitals, the Conſervation of their Magiſtracy and Commerce, the Suppreſſions of the Impoſts upon their Merchandiſe at *Pelaw*, with ſome other

It capitulates.

other Conditions, were the Subſtance of this Treaty. 1698.

King's Conduct on that Occaſion

Auguſtus ſeemed extremely affected with the firſt News of the City of *Elbing*'s danger. He expreſſed his Reſentment in the moſt lively Terms, and declared it neceſſary that Reparation ſhould be had at any rate. He was ſtill at *Leopold*, intending for *Lithuania* to redreſs in Perſon the Troubles which daily increaſed there: But this Accident diſconcerted all his Meaſures. He wrote to the Senate the 29th of *October*, which Letter was dated in the ſecond Year of his Reign. Its Contents were: The Enterprize of his Electoral Highneſs of *Brandenburgh* againſt the City of *Elbing*, which we could not expect, and which has been done without any previous Demand and Application to Ourſelves, and the Republick, to which every Enemy is obliged, ſurprizes us exceedingly, and juſtifies the Vengeance, incumbent upon us to take. The reſt of this Letter inſiſts upon the Neceſſity of relieving the Place, and appoints the Senate to meet at *Warſaw* on the 12th of *November*, to conſult with him the neceſſary Meaſures to prevent the loſs of it. He arrived at *Warſaw* on the 10th, ſo that *Elbing* capitulated the Day before the Senate was to aſſemble.

The Anger of the King, the Primate, and Grandees of *Poland*, ſpent itſelf in Complaints

1698. plaints and Murmurs. The Inaction of *Auguſtus* upon this Occaſion, correſponded ſo ill with his former Threatning, that it was believed to have been concerted with the Elector; and *Auguſtus*'s Enemies ſuppoſed it a Conſequence of the Interview at *Johansburgh*. That Prince, they ſaid, got by it a Pretence for retaining his *Saxons* in the Kingdom. That Suſpicion was not more juſt than the Court's Opinion, that the Primate had ſecretly called in the Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s Forces. Conſidering his Scheme of Politicks, he might indeed hope ſome good Effect of that Buſineſs to the State, as it was neceſſary *Auguſtus*, who had engaged to pay the Debts of the Republick, ſhould either diſcharge this, and reſtore *Elbing* to *Poland*, which would by that Means ſatisfy the Elector's Claim, or that in failing to do it, he would draw an Enemy upon his hands, who by a powerful Diverſion might aſſiſt the *Poliſh* Malecontents to ſend him back to *Saxony*.

Court ſuſpected.

And the Primate.

But it is needleſs to look further for the Motives of the Invaſion of *Elbing* than to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s Politicks. That Prince was too penetrating, not to obſerve a Conjuncture ſo much in his Favour, and that if he ſuffered it to eſcape, he might never retrieve the Opportunity. The Republick, divided by the Miſunderſtanding between the King and People, and by the Diſcord

Falſity of thoſe Suſpicions.

Diſcord of the Grandees, whom the double Election had inflamed againſt each other: The Nobility of *Lithuania*, too much taken up with their own Differences to regard any other Affairs: A King, conſcious of not being ſufficiently ſettled in his Throne to hazard a War that would entirely exhauſt his Finances, and compleat the Ruin of his Hereditary Eſtates: The Facility of ſeizing a Mercantile City, ſuch as *Elbing*: The Alternative of either holding the Place at firſt in Caution, and afterwards as an Acquiſition; or at worſt to be re-imburſed a Sum, which his Father and himſelf had in vain expected forty Years together. Theſe were ſufficient Views to engage the Elector in the Enterprize; he wanted no other Motives; and the Suggeſtions in regard to the King and Primate, were only Refinements of the different Parties Reſentment to each other. 1698.

The Elector of *Brandenburgh* had judged very juſtly, and the Succeſs anſwer'd his Expectation. In vain might *Auguſtus* ſolicit the Senate, or recommend Unity to the *Poles*, their Deliberations were no leſs tedious. A perpetual Diſtruſt of each other continued the Diviſion of the Grandees, and all the Reſult of their Debates was, That the Cities of *Thorn* and *Dantzick* ſhould be advertiſed to keep upon their Guard: That the King ſhould be deſired to

The King ſolicites the Poles to retake *Elbing*.

1698. ſend his *German* Troops, either in whole or in part, into *Poliſh Pruſſia*: That they might be employed in retaking *Elbing*, or at leaſt in preventing the Elector from making any new Conqueſts: That Proclamation ſhould however be publiſh'd to oblige the whole Nobility, and particularly thoſe of *Pruſſia* to take Arms, with Orders to mount on Horſeback upon the third Publication; and that Miniſters ſhould be diſpatched to the Allies to demand their Aid.

Reſident of *Brandenburgh* order'd to retire.

Conformably to this Plan, *Auguſtus* ordered *Werner* Reſident of *Brandenburgh* at *Warſaw* to leave the Kingdom, and appointed the Palatine of *Inowdiſlaw*, his Ambaſſador Extraordinary to *Stockholm*, *Copenhagen* and the *Hague*. He publiſhed the *Univerſalia*, (or general Proclamations) in which the Elector of *Brandenburgh* was reproached with the Republick's great Favour, in conferring upon him the Title *Sereniſſime*, (moſt Serene) inſtead of *Illuſtriſſime*, (moſt Illuſtrious) and accuſed him of having taken advantage from the Diſunion of the Times to invade *Poland*, for which he ought rather to have taken Arms as a Vaſſal. It added, the Nation ſuffers by a Son of its own, whom it has loaded with Favours, whom it has inſtalled into the high Government of *Pruſſia*, and who, by thus attacking it in return, is almoſt unworthy of the Name of Chriſtian. Force

Univerſalia publiſhed.

ſo

ſo employ'd without Right, gives reaſon to apprehend Ambition may be more aſſumptive; particularly as that Prince in ſome of his Letters affects the Title of King, either ſeriouſly or out of Deriſion. After this Preamble, in which a Virulence of Stile prevailed, that ſtill ran higheſt on what reproach'd the Elector, followed a kind of Declaration of War. 1698. Virulence of their Stile.

That Piece, dated the 15th of *November*, was not long without the Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s Anſwer. His Reply ſet forth his Pretenſions, and juſtified his Conduct with a wiſe Moderation. It diſtinguiſhes the King from the Writer of the *Univerſalia*, and full of Reſerve and Reſpect for the one, directs the Bitterneſs of his Defence ſolely to the other. Elector's Anſwer.

The remarkable Difference of thoſe Writings did honour to the Elector. He does not take his Manner from his Adverſary, but preſerves that Air of Dignity and Wiſdom ſo becoming a Great Prince. On the contrary the Stile of the *Univerſalia* diſtinguiſhes a violent *Pole*, endeavouring to embroil two Princes irretrievably, whom he ſuſpects of an Underſtanding prejudicial to his Views, and to take his Advantage from their Diſagreement. *Auguſtus* permitted this Piece to go abroad in his Name, demonſtrating by that Complacency, there was

1698. no ſecret Intelligence between himſelf and the Elector.

The Emperor endeavours to put an end to the Difference.

The Emperor apprehending a War in the North would be the Conſequence of Hoſtilities, offered directly his Mediation, which both Parties agreed to accept. Count *Sureniski*, his Envoy at the Court of *Warſaw*, a Perſon much eſteemed and beloved by the *Poliſh* Nobility, was very induſtrious to reconcile the King and the Elector.

Every thing concurred to incline *Auguſtus* to a ſpeedy Accommodation. Jealouſy and Diſtruſt united to oppoſe his beſt Deſigns. The Towns of *Thorn* and *Dantzick* excuſed themſelves from receiving his Troops, and did not give themſelves the trouble to palliate their Refuſal with any plauſible or ſatisfactory Excuſe. The Elector on his Part expreſs'd no leſs Inclination for Peace, but always under a Proviſo very difficult to execute. For the Preliminary Article, he inſiſted upon the Reimburſement of the Sum ſtipulated by the Treaty of 1657. That indiſpenſible Condition protracted the Negotiation above a Year.

The Queen's Journey deferred.

Theſe Difficulties however removed another trouble from *Auguſtus*. It was demanded that the Queen ſhould come to *Poland*, and give certain and publick Proofs of her Converſion. It had been given out in order to perplex the Affair, that that Princeſs, leſs prejudiced to the Proteſtant Religion,

gion, expreſs'd no longer a diſlike of the Roman Catholick Principles, and it was induſtriouſly reported ſhe liſten'd to them with great Satisfaction. *Auguſtus* could no longer defer ſhewing his Subjects a Queen, whom they ſo earneſtly deſired to ſee. Her Preſence had without doubt deſtroy'd the Impreſſions it was neceſſary the *Poles* ſhould have, in reſpect to her Sentiments of the Roman Catholick Religion. The continual Agitation of the Kingdom was a very good Excuſe for deferring that Princeſs's Journey till the next Year; and the King had from thence the advantage of not being reduced to diſcover he had promiſed a Converſion, not in his power to make good. 1698.

Sequel of the Troubles in *Lithuania.*

The Buſineſs of *Elbing* was not the only Source of Trouble to him. We have obſerved, that in the Diſtribution of the *Saxon* Troops, part of them were to march into *Lithuania*, where Quarters were ordered them in the *Oeconomates*, certain Lands of *Demeſn*, aſſigned for the Entertainment of the King's Houſhold. Theſe Troops were on their March, and the King who ſet out the 18th of *November* arrived at *Brzeſcia* the 24th, where he ſtopt to be better informed in the State of Affairs, and not to expoſe his Perſon too haſtily. The firſt News he receiv'd were two Deputations, one from the Senators aſſembled at *Grodno*, who aſſured him of their Fidelity and their

1698. Zeal for the Marshal of the Dutchy; and the other from the *Lithuanian* Nobility assembled in the same place. They desired the King, that his Troops might not march into the Dutchy, and pleaded the Ruin of the Country, already occasioned by the Hostilities of the contending Parties, as the Reason of their Request; adding the impossibility of finding Subsistence there for an Army, who had the Reputation of no great Complacency in their Quarters. The *Lithuanians* demanded eight Years Arrears, and threaten'd if the King would not comply, to oppose the Entrance of his Troops into the Dutchy. They did not fail however to march thither, to the Number of twelve Regiments of Horse, and approach'd *Grodno*; whither the King followed, placed a Garrison in the Town, and sent the rest to quarter in the neighbouring *Oeconomates*. They did not find those Quarters free from Disturbance, and it had been worse for them if the *Lithuanians* could have agreed among themselves; but their Divisions augmented daily. Whilst Endeavours were using to reconcile their Chiefs, the Nobility and the Army came to Blows the beginning of *December*.

Nobility oppose the Entrance of the *Saxon* Troops into *Lithuania*.

They enter it.

New Combat between *Oginski* and *Sapieha*.

The *Lithuanian* Army which was only eight thousand strong, kept upon the Defensive. *Oginski*, whom the ill Success of the first Combat could not discourage, seeing

ing himſelf at the head of fifteen thouſand of the Nobility, was fond of the Occaſion to return the Affront he had received from *Sapieha* at *Jurgenburgh*. The Victory was not long in ſuſpence between Forces ſo unequal, but declared itſelf for the Nobility. 1698

The Chiefs of the Army, convinc'd of their Inferiority, began to fall their Creſts, and to have leſs averſion for the Propoſals made by the Biſhop of *Wilna* as Moderator. That Prelate, whom the King had appointed to concert meaſures of Peace between the two Parties, was very zealous in the Affair. Perhaps without the Diſadvantage the Army had ſuffered, he would have found the Succeſs not a little difficult. But at length on the 20th of *December*, Prince *Sapieha* being poſted near *Grodno* where the King then was, and the Nobility with *Oginski*, encamped at a ſmall diſtance from him: *Flemming* General of the *Saxons*, at the head of twenty eight Companies of his Troops, advanc'd between the Armies, and ordered *Sapieha* in the Name of the King and the Republick, to disband his Army immediately. The Prince paus'd a little, but having conſidered the Conſequences of his Refuſal, and that *Oginski*'s Troops were thrice his Number, he took the only Means in his Power, and obeyed. Commiſſioners from each Party met in the preſence of

The King breaks the Army of *Lithuania*.

1698. *Flemming*, whom the King had appointed Mediator, and a Treaty was ſign'd, of which the principal Articles were: That the Army which was the principal Occaſion of the Quarrel, and the aſſembling of the Nobility ſhould remain disbanded: That two thouſand ſix hundred and twenty Foot, including the Regiment of the Republick, ſhould be retained: That every Officer ſhould take an Oath of Fidelity, and promiſe never to undertake any thing againſt the Republick, and to ſerve the King with due Obedience: That one thouſand one hundred and forty Dragoons ſhould be kept on Foot, and have their Quarters at *Pinsk*: That the *Hungarian* Troops ſhould be diſmiſſed as uſeleſs. The Troops retained and thoſe diſmiſſed, were promiſed a Year's Pay for their whole Pretenſions, and were diſcharged from all Claims upon themſelves: That all Acts of Hoſtilities done by either Party, ſhould be made void by a General Amneſty: That the Sums agreed to be paid by the King under the *Pacta Conventa*, for the Uſe of the Army, ſhould be paid accordingly, and that the Republick ſhould ſolicite the Execution of that Promiſe: In reſpect to the Arrears granted to the Troops, Application ſhould be made for the Payment to the Diets ſummoned for the Month of *February*. It was farther agreed, that the new Levies ſhould be deferr'd till the approaching Diet: That proper

Treaty of Pacification.

per Methods ſhould be uſed to oblige the Great General to obſerve exactly the Inſtitution of Coequation: That, as ſome *Palatinates* had refuſed to furniſh Winter Quarters and other Contributions, Deputies ſhould be ſent to the Diets to demand Juſtice. After ſome Articles of perſonal Relation to the General, it was regulated that the Artillery ſhould be ſupplied, and paid out of the Revenues of *Lipniski*, *Geranowski*, and *Witopſuski*, till the approaching Diets, when the General of the Artillery ſhould deliver in the Account: That the ſaid Artillery ſhould be lodged in the Arſenal of *Wilna*, from whence it ſhould only be removed to be employed againſt the Enemies of the Republick: That each Party ſhould protect the *Tartars* of *Lithuania*, as well in regard to their Goods as their Perſons; provided they immediately took the Oath of Fidelity to the King and the Republick. 1698.

To this Treaty both Parties ſigned the 20th of *December* 1698, in the Camp between *Lawno* and *Pitzwiez*. In execution of the Articles the Troops were broke in preſence of the Mediators, and the Companies having furled their Colours, reſigned them into the Hands of the Perſons commiſſioned to receive them. After which the Number of Troops mentioned in the Treaty, were retaken into the Service; and to conclude, Conſequences of the Treaty

1698. clude, the Biſhop of *Wilna* ſung the *Te Deum*, which Act of Thankſgiving was accompanied with the Diſcharge of the Cannon, and the general Acclamation of *God bleſs the King*.

Prince *Sapieha*, who thought fit to ſpare himſelf the Diſpleaſure of being preſent at the disbanding the Army, went next Day to *Grodno*, where the great Standard-bearer *Oginski* was not long after him. Each of them expreſſed their mutual Satisfaction in the Concluſion of the Treaty, and not only conſented to give the King's Troops Winter Quarters in *Lithuania*, but offered to raiſe ten thouſand Men for his Service.

The King returns to *Warſaw*.

Auguſtus, having ſo happily concluded this Affair, left *Grodno* two Days after, and paſſed thro' *Warmia*, whither the Biſhop went to receive him. He ſtayed a Day there, and continuing his Journey, attended by that Prelate and other Grandees, arrived

1699. at *Warſaw* the 2d of *January*. His firſt Care was to put the great Project for reconciling the Primate and Biſhop of *Cujavia* on foot again. This Affair was of too great conſequence, in regard to what depended upon it, to be neglected. It was entirely carrying his Point to prevent the Primate from referring the Validity of his Coronation by that Prelate to the enſuing Diet, as a Queſtion neceſſary to be examined. The

Diet deferred.

King had put off that Diet till the Month of

of *March*, and two Motives made this delay neceſſary. He was in hopes that Means might be found in this Interval to re-eſtabliſh a good Underſtanding between thoſe Prelates before the hazard of a Diet, in which the Cardinal's Reſentment might revive the publick Animoſities but ill compoſed at preſent. In the ſecond place, the Succeſs of the Negotiations at *Carlowitz*, where the Emperor and other Allies had their Plenipotentiaries, was not a little to his Satisfaction. They were treating a Peace with the *Turks*, and the leaſt Advantage to the Republick from the Articles, could not but have an happy Effect upon the Diet in the King's Favour. 1699.

Peace of *Carlowitz*.

The Event of thoſe Negotiations anſwered his Expectation. The Peace between the King, the Republick of *Poland*, and the Grand Signior, was ſigned at *Carlowitz*, the 26th of *January*, by *Staniſlaus Malakowski*, Plenipotentiary of *Poland*, and by *Mehemet Effendi* and *Alexander Mauro Cardato*, the Sultan's Plenipos. It contains eleven Articles, of which the Subſtance, without that heap of Expreſſions and Phraſes often ſuperfluous, which a jealous and diſtruſtful Policy has introduced into the Treaties of Princes, is as follows;

Conditions of the Treaty.

I. The ancient Amity ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed; the Provinces of the two States to be diſtin-

1699. diſtinguiſhed for the future by their ancient Boundaries, ſuch as they were before the two laſt Wars, without any Alterations.

II. The *Poles* ſhall reſtore all the Fortreſſes in their Poſſeſſion upon the ancient Frontiers of *Moldavia.*

III. *Kaminieck* ſhall be reſtored to the King and Republick in its preſent Condition, before the 15th of *March*; the Sultan renouncing all Pretenſions upon *Podolia* and the *Ukraine.*

IV. The Sultan ſhall forbid all his Subjects and Vaſſals, and particularly the *Tartars*, from committing any Acts of Hoſtility for the future againſt the Kingdom or Subjects of *Poland:* The Viſiers, Beglerbegs, Cham of *Crim Tartary*, the other *Tartar* Princes and Lords, and the Vayvode of *Moldavia* ſhall have expreſs Orders to be vigilant in preſerving the Tranquillity of the Frontiers, and to puniſh the Violators of the publick Peace upon pain of being puniſhed themſelves; *Poland* engaging to do the ſame on their part.

V. The Empire acknowledges *Poland* to be a State that always was entirely free and independent, and that it has no Right to moleſt it by any Claim, Foundation, or Pretext whatſoever.

VI. The *Tartars* who have abandoned their Country to ſettle in *Moldavia*, in contempt of former Treaties, ſhall quit the Places

Places they poſſeſs, and be obliged to keep within the Limits of their own Country. 1699.

VII. The Religious of the Roman Catholick Church throughout the whole *Ottoman* Empire, ſhall enjoy the free Exerciſe of the Functions, annexed to their Religion and Circumſtances, according to Treaties ſubſiſting and ancient Privileges; and the Ambaſſador of *Poland* at the Port ſhall be admitted to make ſuch Demands and Remonſtrances upon this head, as he ſhall be ordered by the King and Republick.

VIII. The Liberty of Trade ſhall be reeſtabliſhed for all Merchants of the two Nations, who ſhall freely paſs and repaſs with their Merchandiſe, paying only the ancient Duties, to which no new Impoſt ſhall be added: And no Merchant ſhall be obliged to pay any Debt upon verbal Evidence only, nor ſhall be ſubject to any Contracts not ſet forth by Bill, or other lawful Writing under his Hand.

IX. All Priſoners and Captives, taken during the War, ſhall be returned on both ſides, paying the Ranſom ſettled by former Treaties: Such Ranſom to be lowered in proportion to the Time the Captive ſhall have ſerved; and if that cannot be amicably adjuſted with the Patron, in ſuch caſe the Judges of the reſpective Places ſhall decide equitably. Captives who may be taken after the Peace, ſhall be reſtored without

1699. out any Ranſom: Free Paſſage thro' the whole *Ottoman* Empire, to be granted for the Redemption of the *Poles* in Slavery: All Priſoners of War ſhall be exchanged.

X. The Vayvode of *Moldavia* ſhall continue in good Intelligence with *Poland* as in times paſt; and neither *Poland* nor *Moldavia* ſhall protect the Fugitives of either Country.

XI. The 11th and laſt Article confirms the former Treaties in every Point, not contrary to the preſent Treaty, or to the perpetual Rights of the reſpective Powers: Each of which obliging it ſelf to the religious Obſervance of the Peace, to notify it to all Governors, Officers, and Magiſtrates in the ſpace of thirty Days, and to puniſh ſeverely all Infraction after that time: *Poland* promiſes to diſpatch a Miniſter to carry the Ratification of it to the Porte, and to receive there that of the Sultan; and alſo to ſend as ſoon as may conveniently be done, a ſolemn Embaſſy to the *Ottoman* Court, to confirm the Peace and re-eſtabliſh entirely a ſolid and laſting Amity between his Highneſs and *Poland*.

Good Conſequences of this Treaty.

Such was the Reſult of the Negotiations of *Carlowitz*, whereby *Poland* regained the important Fortreſs of *Kaminieck*, *Podolia*, and the *Ukraine*, by the Mediation of its Allies. An happy Event for *Auguſtus*, who ſaw

ſaw himſelf thereby diſengaged from the moſt difficult of his Promiſes to the *Poliſh* Nation. The Reſtitution of this Place was the more agreeable to the Republick from its not having any room to expect it; as the publick Rejoicings ſufficiently expreſſed. The whole Nation applauded a perpetual Peace, which left the King at liberty to terminate glorioufly the Affair of *Elbing*. The *Turkiſh* Commandants of Places upon the Frontiers, had Orders to put a Stop to all Hoſtilities. 1699.

New Irruption of the *Tartars*.

The more remote of the *Tartars* who had not yet received this Order, or who perhaps were already apprized, they were upon the point of being confined by the Peace to their Deſerts, made haſte to take Advantage of the Security into which the News of it had thrown *Poland*. They penetrated as far as *Samber* and *Leopold*, and to ſeveral other Places, making a dreadful Havock, and entirely ruining and burning at *Jayniokowitz*, the Eſtates of the Great General, carrying off abundance of Priſoners. The General ſent *Streſnicki* and *Czaborowski* in purſuit of them, with the Troops nigheſt at hand. The *Tartars* aware of their March, took care to retire, taking with them upwards of 12000 Slaves: But the *Poles* in the purſuit came up with them before they made the Frontier, and retook part of the Priſoners.

This

1699. This Accident interrupted the Joy which then reigned at *Warsaw*.

Rejoicings of the Carnaval.

Augustus forgot nothing that might recommend the Diversions of the Carnaval to the *Poles*. He knew nothing was more consistent with good Policy than to employ the People in grateful Amusements; and tho' Reason of State should not have had its share in them, the Prince's Genius naturally inclined him to such Pleasures. That Prince, born with a Constitution healthy and robust, had to the Advantages of his Person, a Spirit turned to Politeness and Gallantry, an Heart susceptible of tender Impressions, and an unbounded Magnificence of Soul. Publick Entertainments were the more his Taste as they supplied him occasions of shining, always admirable, not only for his Strength, which few Men equalled, but for the Grace, with which the least of his Actions were commonly attended. The fair Sex who were always invited, and who were its greatest Ornaments, were easily habituated to share in the Pleasures of a splendid and magnificent Court. The King was in the twenty ninth Year of his Age, and his Heart not always unconcerned upon these Occasions.

The King holds a Council.

This did not however make him neglect Business. The 18th of *February* he held a Council, at which were present the Primate, the

the Biſhop of *Plosko*, the *Caſtellans* of *Wilna* and *Samogitia*, the Grand Marſhal, the Great Treaſurer, the Vice-Chancellors of the Kingdom and Dutchy, and the other Great Officers of State, who came to the following Reſolutions. 1699.

That the King ſhould be deſired to ſummon a general Diet at *Warſaw* for the laſt of *May* enſuing: That it ſhould be referred to the King to chooſe Commiſſaries to deliver or receive from the *Turks* the Forts, of which the Reſtitution had been ſtipulated at *Carlowitz*, and that he ſhould be intreated at the ſame time not to beſtow that Truſt upon any Perſons but ſuch as were capable of diſcharging it effectually: That the Mediation of the Emperor, the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and the States General, ſhould be accepted, to terminate amicably the Affair of *Elbing*; provided the Elector of *Brandenburgh* would leave all things in the Condition he found them, and that Conferences ſhould be had in conſequence at *Elbing* and not at *Breſlaw*, which Place the Emperor had nominated for the Congreſs. The King was however left at liberty to act as Himſelf and Council ſhould think convenient, with regard to the Reſtitution of the Place. Its Reſolutions.

This Accommodation could not want Mediators. In the Month of *December* 1698, the King of *Denmark* had wrote to the King of *Poland* to tender his good Offi- King of *Denmark* offers his Mediation.

1699. ces, and to perſwade him from carrying Things to Extremities: One Motive for thoſe Offers was his being Guarantee of the Treaties of *Velaw* and *Bydgoſt*, which the *Germans* call *Bromberg*. His Letter met with the better Reception, as an Invitation to Peace agreed entirely with the Intereſts and Views of the Court of *Warſaw*. That of *Vienna* foreſaw the Employment they could not fail to have upon their Hands, in reſpect to the Succeſſion of *Spain*, which made it neceſſary to put an immediate ſtop to a Quarrel, that muſt employ in a Civil War the Auxiliary Troops they rely'd on in caſe of Neceſſity. It was their Deſire alſo to bring the Congreſs into *Sileſia*, that *Breſlaw* might have the Advantages uſual to Places where ſuch Aſſemblies are held.

As does the King of *Sweden*.

Sweden had not forgot the Advantages which the Title of Mediation had given them in the Congreſs of *Ryſwick*, and was well pleaſed to have the ſame Office in this Accommodation. Baron *Welling* was arrived in *Poland* from *Charles* XII. to offer the Mediation of that Monarch. That Miniſter, who had afterwards a great Share in the Affairs of *Sweden*, was a Gentleman of *Finland*, a Man of Wit and Inſinuation, but given to Pleaſure, and almoſt always the Bubble of his Paſſions. I have already obſerv'd the prevalence of Gallantry in the Court of *Auguſtus*. *Welling* was of a Cha-

Character of his Miniſter.

racter

racter to go no ſmall Lengths that way. 1699.
The King made him always of the Party in his Pleaſures, and without letting him into his own Views, penetrated as far into him as he thought fit. His Reſerve to him was the leſs obvious to ſuſpicion, as upon indifferent Occaſions he treated him with entire Openneſs of Heart, and the moſt inſinuating Freedom of Behaviour.

France alſo offers its Mediation

It ſeemed the general Paſſion to prevent the bad Effects of a Rupture. The Marquis of *Ailleurs*, Envoy from *France* to *Berlin*, had Orders to offer the Elector his Maſter's Mediation. *Frederick* the Elector, was cautious of rejecting bluntly a Propoſal he did not approve. His Anſwer was, He ſhould have been fond of a Power to accept his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Offers, but as there had been no other Mediation than that of the Emperor, *Denmark* and the States General, in the Treaty of *Bydgoſt*, it was not conſiſtent to add new Mediators in a Negotiation which turned upon the Execution of a Treaty, of which thoſe three Powers were Guarantees. The ſame Reaſons ſerved alſo for *Sweden*.

State of Affairs in *Lithuania*

Things wore a new Face in *Lithuania* ſince *Sapieha*'s Submiſſion. Some Differences ſeemed to imply a new Confederacy, and ſeveral *Palatinates* of the Dutchy offered underhand to ſecond the Great General, if he would attempt to revenge himſelf upon the Court and Nobility, who had degraded

1699. him in some measure, by imposing upon him the Dismission of his Army. But whether the Court had found Means to retain him in due respect, or that he did not believe the Party sufficiently firm, to take up Arms upon their Assurances, or in fine, whether both were his Motives, he did not give into the Measures suggested to him.

Nobility of the Dutchy's Zeal for the King.

The Nobility did indeed express their entire Satisfaction in the King, and promise an unalterable Adherence to him. Some few Days after the Treaty before-mentioned they had let him know, that he might assure himself of having an hundred thousand Hearts, and as many Sabres at his Service in *Lithuania*; and renewed the same Offers and Assurances by their Deputies, in an Address presented to him. The principal Points of which Address were; That the Nobility of the Great Dutchy of *Lithuania* were ready to sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes for the Service of the King, in gratitude for his Protection so highly granted, and in consideration of his vigorous Defence of their Privileges during the late Troubles: That they begged he would vouchsafe to honour *Lithuania* with his Presence once in three Years, and confirm the last Treaty of Accommodation with the opposite Party. They desired the Dutchy might be admitted to have a Secretary constantly resident at Court, to present their Remonstrances to his Majesty,

Majeſty, and to ſign all Diſpatches relating to their Country, and that the Palatine of *Marienburgh* might be commanded not to intermeddle in any Affairs regarding *Lithuania*. Their Gratitude was not confined to the King. In the ſame Addreſs they begged leave to recommend in the approaching Diet, *Biechling* his Privy Counſellor, and *Flemming* General of the *Saxon* Troops, that they might both be naturalized in conſideration of their Services in the late Accommodation. They alſo recommended the *Donati*, Families of *Volhinia* and *Samogitia*, who had expreſſed an extreme Fidelity to his Perſon. They concluded with demanding that the *Saxons* ſhould not be quartered upon the Lands of the Church, nor upon thoſe of the Crown, and that he ſhould revoke the Grant of certain Demeſns, whoſe Revenues, according to the fundamental Laws of the State, were inalienably appropriated to the Uſes of the King's Houſhold. 1699.

Their Gratitude to *Flemming* and *Biechling*.

Thus did all Difficulties inſenſibly relax in favour of *Auguſtus*. Tho' he was convinced the mediating Powers would not ſuffer *Elbing* to be beſieged, he did not omit his Preparations for War, in hopes they would ſerve him as a Pretext to augment the *German* Troops, whom repeated Addreſſes deſired him to diſmiſs. He flattered himſelf alſo, that ſuch Preparations would induce the

Auguſtus prepares for War.

1699. Elector of *Brandenburgh* not to inſiſt too ſtrictly upon his Right in all its Extent, but deceived himſelf in both his Calculations. The Primate at the Head of a great Number of Senators, was the firſt to oppoſe the Deſign the King ſeemed to have of retaking *Elbing* by force. He apprehended that Siege might draw on a War, for the Support of which ſuch immenſe Sums muſt have been raiſed as the State was in no Condition to ſupply.

Primate and part of the Senate oppoſe it.

The Elector was no ſooner apprized that Troops were filing off to that ſide, than he kept himſelf more ſtrictly than ever upon his guard. Whilſt they were recruiting at *Dantzick*, where the *Saxon* Artillery was at length arrived, and a Camp was marked out at *Marienburgh*, he was informed that a Conſpiracy was diſcovered at *Elbing* to introduce the King's Troops there. This was ſufficient Reaſon for taking the neceſſary Precautions to diſconcert that Project. He therefore threw a much ſtronger Garriſon into the Place than had been ſtipulated with the Burghers, and took from them the Poſts where themſelves or their Militia kept guard, as he did the Keys from the Magiſtrates, and waited the Event of the Diet, which was to aſſemble and reſolve deciſively upon the Affair.

Elector of *Brandenburgh* prepares for his Defence.

The *Czar* alſo ſeemed to intereſt himſelf in this Buſineſs; and his Reſident told the King

King gives Audience to the

King in an Audience, that his Maſter deſired his Majeſty would make the Elector ſatisfaction, and uſe gentle Methods to induce him to reſign the Place. The Motion of the *Ruſſian* Troops about this time towards the Frontier of *Poland* had an ill Aſpect in the Senſe of many People. They put their March and the Reſident's Expreſſions together, and concluded a little too haſtily, that the *Czar* had joined Intereſt with the Elector, and intended to ſupport him. This Opinion ought to have given the *Poles* Reaſon to deſire the King would keep all his *German* Troops in *Poland*; but they looked upon this as no Neceſſity for their Stay. Leſs apprehenſive of a *Ruſſian* Army and the Elector's Preparations, than the danger to which the Liberty of their Country was obnoxious from the *Saxon* Troops, they were ſtill obſtinate in their Demand, that the whole foreign Army ſhould be diſmiſſed. The general Diet was however ſummoned for the 16th of *June*. The particular Diets preceding it, were almoſt unanimous in demanding that War ſhould not be declared againſt the Elector, and that the Affair of *Elbing* ſhould be amicably concluded by the Interpoſition of the Mediators; that the *Saxons* ſhould quit the Kingdom and Great Dutchy; and that the *Pacta Conventa* ſhould be communicated to the General Diet.

1699. *Czar's* Reſident.

1699. The Diet opened at *Warſaw* upon the Day appointed. The Biſhop of *Poſnania* celebrated the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt in the Preſence of the King and Part of the Senate. After which the Nuncios repaired to their Chamber, where the Election of a Marſhal was propoſed. *Sawiski* Marſhal of the preceding Diet ſtill officiated in that Function according to Cuſtom. As ſoon as he had demanded they would proceed to chooſe him a Succeſſor, the Nuncios in a great Body declared, they would not conſent to that Election till the *Saxon* Troops were diſmiſſed, and the original *Pacta Conventa* laid before them.

Diet at *Warſaw*.

Election of a Marſhal propoſed.

Objections of the Nuncios.

The King's Anſwer to the firſt Demand, was, that he was reſolved to perform his Promiſe; that part of the *Saxon* Troops were already ſent away, and arrived upon the Frontiers of *Sileſia*; that the others were upon their March, and that he would retain only a ſmall Number about his Perſon. In regard to the *Pacta Conventa*, the King told the Deputies of the Diet, that the Original had been taken from the Palatine of *Marienburgh*, with the Box in which it was kept. That Original was only an authentick Copy taken from the Notary's Entry, at whoſe Houſe it was kept. The King authoriſed the Palatine of *Plosko*, as Staroſt of *Warſaw*, to order the Notary, whoſe Name was *Sobolewski*, to deliver another Copy immediately.

ately. *Sawiski* then renewed his Propoſal to elect a Marſhal; but with no more Succeſs than the Day before. They refuſed to proceed to that Election till the *Saxon* Troops had entirely and effectually quitted the Kingdom. The Nuncio of *Chelm* ſpoke upon the occaſion, and inſiſted ſtrongly upon the Support of their Liberties and the Execution of the Laws. He went ſo far as to ſay, that in *Poland* the King had no farther Right than to act as the Head of his fellow Citizens, and not as a Lord over his Vaſſals or Slaves; that the King had no Authority to keep the Nuncios and Senate beſieged in a manner by his Troops; and that for his part he was reſolved to maintain the Liberty of his Country, tho' at the hazard of his Life. The Nuncio of *Leneicia* moved, that the Marſhal ſhould renew his Inſtances to the King, which was reſolved, and the Diet adjourned for two Days.

1699.

They inſiſt obſtinately on the Diſmiſſion of the *Saxon* Troops.

The 19th was paſſed in particular Aſſemblies, held by the Nuncios of ſome *Palatinates* among themſelves, who endeavoured to find ſome Means to terminate amicably all Differences. In the General Aſſembly the 20th, *Sawiski* reported the King's laſt Anſwer. His Majeſty, ſaid he, has confirmed his Promiſe of ſending back his *German* Troops, of which the greateſt part have began their March. He then demanded that they would elect a Marſhal.

New Debates.

Their

1699. Their Opinions differ'd, ſome pretended it was previouſly neceſſary that the *Saxons* ſhould entirely quit the Kingdom. *Sawiski* gave them to underſtand, that the Election of a Marſhal was an eſſential Preliminary; that the Aſſembly was not a regular Diet without it, and therefore that it ought to take place of all other Conſiderations; That at all Events ſuch a Proceeding could not engage them to any Thing, as the Choice of that Officer could neither alter their Inſtructions in the leaſt, nor take from them the Liberty of their Suffrages. Theſe Reaſons carried it, and would have removed the Obſtacle, when the two *Polands* and the Dutchy began to debate for the Turn.

Primate arrives. The Meetings of the 22d, 23d and 26th, were paſſed in Debates, which increaſed daily till the 29th when the Primate arrived at *Warſaw*. He made a ſplendid Entry, and the next Day had Audience of the King, at which all the Senators were preſent.

Scucka choſe Marſhal. The 1ſt of *July* the Primate's Preſence ſeemed to have reſtored the Aſſembly's Tranquillity. The Choice of Marſhal which could not be concluded in ten Sittings, was quietly reſolved in leſs than two Hours, and fell upon *Scucka*, Referendary of the Crown, and one of the Nuncio's of Great *Poland*. Deputies were then appointed to notify

notify the Election to the King, and to urge the immediate Diſmiſſion of the *Saxon* Troops. *Auguſtus* approved the Choice of the Diet, and anſwer'd in regard to the Troops, that great part of them had already left the Kingdom; That the reſt ſhould follow as ſoon as the Senate ſhould declare it their unanimous Opinion: That he would hold a great Council of the Senate in two Days time, at which the Deputies might be preſent. 1699.

King's Remonſtrances to the Diet.

This Propoſal was at firſt but indifferently received by the Nuncio's, who were obſtinate in not entering upon Buſineſs till they were fully aſſured of the Departure of all the *Saxons*, except twelve hundred, which they agreed the King ſhould retain for his Guard. *Auguſtus*, to cut ſhort all future Cavil of the Nuncios, ordered the 7th, Remonſtrances to be made in full Diet; that he was informed ſome ill inclined Perſons imputed to him the Deſign of oppreſſing their Liberties by entertaining Foreign Troops, and that he found it his Obligation to proteſt againſt the falſe and ſcandalous Reports induſtriouſly diſperſed upon that Subject. He declared at the ſame time, that to diſpel ſuch Apprehenſions and remove all Scruples, he was reſolved to ſend back his Troops into *Germany*; but that he could not do it 'till fifteen Days after the Cloſe of the Diet, and

1699. and then upon Condition ſufficient Proviſion were made for the Safety of his Perſon.

The more moderate of the Nuncios did not find any Thing to object to this Conduct, and to give the King the Satisfaction he deſired, an Act of Aſſociation was immediately prepared to confirm his Authority, and for the Safety of his Perſon. He ordered the *Pacta Conventa* to be read to the Aſſembly, by which a particular Guard of ſix thouſand Men were granted him. The reading that Inſtrument had the expected Effect; their Heat abated: They expreſſed themſelves in gentler Terms upon that Article, and Buſineſs began to proceed in a much better manner.

Gives Audience to the Nuncios.

Four Days after, the Nuncios had Audience of the King, who received them in the Audience-Chamber, magnificently adorn'd, upon a Throne of Crimſon Velvet embroidered and fringed with Gold. Cardinal *Radziewski*, ſeveral other Prelates with many *Poliſh* and *German* Lords ſurrounded the Throne, taking place according to Rank. The Nuncios enter'd with the Marſhal at their Head, who preſented them to the King, and enlarged amply upon the Noble Birth, Fortitude, Courage and Fidelity of thoſe Lords. He begg'd his Majeſty would repoſe an entire Confidence in them, and give them a certain Proof

Proof of that Diſpoſition in diſmiſſing the *Saxons* to their own Country. The Chancellor of the Crown reply'd, in *Auguſtus*'s Name, in ſuch Terms as ſeemed to ſatisfy the Nuncios. Upon which they all kiſſed the King's Hand, and withdrew. 1699.

The Diet continued their Deliberations with the utmoſt Application. It was to be feared, the Time preſcrib'd by Cuſtom for their Sitting would be too ſhort, and the Aſſembly diſſolve before Affairs could be concluded. The Diſcord, which had taken place at firſt, had coſt them too much precious Time. It is an eſtabliſhed Cuſtom after the Senate and the Nuncio's have conſulted ſeparately to unite in one Body, and reſume in the King's Preſence ſuch Reſolutions as have been made. It is then, the Collective Majeſty of the State gives the force of Law to what has been judg'd neceſſary to be inſtituted, without which Diets are of no effect. This, which begun under the moſt unfavourable Augury of a general Diſcord between its Head and Members, had the moſt happy Concluſion poſſible. Good Effect of the Diet.

Its Succeſs was in a great Meaſure owing to *Auguſtus*'s Moderation. He diſarmed by his Patience and Complacency the petulant and ſeditious Warmth of the Majority of the Nuncios, who came to the Diet with no other Intention than to join in diſconcerting his Meaſures. He was preſent in King's wiſe Conduct.

Perſon

1699. Perſon the ſeven laſt Days of their Sitting, and his Addreſs was more than once of Service to him, in haſtening the Concluſion of the Diet. A Subject of Diſpute no ſooner aroſe, than he found a Remedy for it, and the laſt Sitting he continued twenty Hours upon the Throne, to induce the Members of the Diet by his Example to conclude the great Affairs which had called them together.

Marſhal's Prudence. The Marſhal *Scucka*'s Prudence did not a little promote the ſame purpoſe. He uſed the Authority his Office gave him, in retaining the Nuncios within the bounds of a wiſe and ſober Liberty. And when one of them began to grow impetuous and diſreſpectful againſt the Court, he ordered him Silence; and what was more ſurprizing, his Behaviour was generally approved and commended by the reſt of the Nuncios. He eſtabliſhed a Spirit of Tranquillity in the Aſſembly, which endeavour'd with the utmoſt Application to retrieve the Time unhappily loſt. They went farther. By a Condeſcenſion, of which there were few Inſtances, the Diet agreed to prolong its Sitting two Days beyond the limited Time, and made ſo good Uſe of them as to conclude the principal Affairs that were the Intention of their meeting. Their chief Regulations were as follow.

They

They confirmed by unanimous Conſent the Act projected for the Safety and Authority of the King, and added a Clauſe to condemn to the moſt rigorous Puniſhments whoever ſhould attempt upon his Perſon or Dignity, or ſhould be ſo raſh to withdraw from their Obedience in what manner ſoever. It was decreed that all *Saxon* Domeſticks and other Strangers then in *Poland* and dependant upon the King's Court, ſhould continue therein as before: That his Majeſty ſhould always retain in the Kingdom ſix Miniſters or Counſellors of State for the Affairs of *Saxony*: But *Auguſtus*, to remove all Occaſions of Exception, declared he would content himſelf with only two. In regard to Troops it was reſolved his Majeſty, beſides the two Regiments of Foot of his own and the Queen's, ſhould retain twelve hundred Horſe, under the Name of Great Muſqueteers and Trainbands: That a like Number of *Saxon* Troops ſhould remain in *Lithuania*; the whole at the Republick's Expence. For the *Poliſh* Troops it was decreed, they ſhould be paid two Years Arrears, and the King was authoriſed to put them into a better Condition, and to pay them in ſuch Manner as he ſhould judge moſt convenient. As Time would not admit an Examination into particular Affairs, the Diſcuſſion of them

1699. Reſult of the Diet.

1699. them was referred to the next General Diet.

Primate signs the Act of Election.

Auguſtus, the firſt Day the Aſſembly united, had the Pleaſure to ſee the Primate, and the Great Chamberlain *Bielinski* ſign the Act of Election, and that Form which was ſtill wanting to all that had been done, concluded to eſtabliſh him upon the Throne. Towards the End of the Diet he diſpoſed of ſeveral of the great Offices. Upon Prince *Sapieha*, he conferred that of Grand Marſhal of *Lithuania*, whoſe Father had a long time enjoyed the ſame Employment. Prince *Wienowiski* he made Marſhal of the Court, Prince *Radzivil* Great Chancellor of *Lithuania*, and *Scucka* Referendary of the Crown and Marſhal of this Diet, Vice-Chancellor of that Dutchy, in the room of the Prince of *Radzivil*. The Biſhop of *Cujavia*, who had render'd him ſuch great Services, he tranſlated to *Cracow* which was become vacant; and the Biſhoprick of *Cujavia*, void by this Promotion, was given to Count *Denhof* Biſhop of *Przmilia*. That Lord who was Great Chancellor of *Poland* was ſucceeded in that Office by Count *Tarlo*, who was before only Vice-Chancellor.

King diſpoſes of Offices and Biſhopricks.

Turks delay the Surrendry of *Kaminieck*.

The Reſtitution of *Kaminieck*, which was to have been made according to the Treaty immediately after its Ratification, was deferr'd notwithſtanding upon ſeveral Pretences. The Miniſters of the Porte could not quit a place of that Importance without

out Regret. Mortified with not having it in their Power to diſpenſe with that Agreement, they try'd all plauſible Means to elude its Execution. That Article was ſo directly oppoſite to their Politicks, that they thought it a kind of Sacrilege to perform it. The Doctors of their Law denounced a mortal Curſe upon the Viziers who had given up ſo conſiderable a Point: But had their Mouths ſtopt with this Anſwer; Give us ſufficient Forces, ſaid they, and We'll maintain the Law, which if You cannot ſupply, do not reproach us with uſing the only Expedient which was left to ſave the Empire from total Deſtruction. 1699.

When the Time for performing the Conditions of the Treaty arrived, they omitted nothing to delay it. At firſt the *Seraskier* had not received the neceſſary Orders, and then the Harveſt they had ſown, muſt be firſt brought in. They afterwards referred the Reſtitution till the Staroſt of *Chelm* Envoy Extraordinary from the Republick to the Port, ſhould have Audience of the Grand Seignior. After which Audience, they found other Pretences for their Delay. Whilſt the King and Republick were at variance, the *Turks* flatter'd themſelves they might evade the Treaty. They had at leaſt one Reaſon to object againſt evacuating that Fortreſs when they were ſummoned:

1699. moned: We have engaged, said they, to restore the Place to the King and Republick of *Poland*. But that Subterfuge was removed by their Uniting, and an Order presented them under the Hands of the King, the Primate and the Heads of the Republick.

It is Surrendered at last.

The Bassa who commanded there, being no longer able to refuse, surrendered at last one Gate of the City to the *Polish* Commissaries, with promise to abandon it intirely in seven or eight Days. To engage him to keep his Word, a magnificent Present was promised him. That kind of Argument which seldom fails of Success, had its effect, and the *Polish* Troops took intire Possession of the Place. The next Day the Suffragan Bishop of *Chelm* consecrated the Parish Churches, and had the Bodies of the *Turks* buried in them, removed to the *Tubas*, Places destined for the Interment of Infidels. Three Days were employed in purifying those Temples, and the 25th the first Mass was celebrated in the Church of the Trinity, which was followed by the *Te Deum*, and the Discharge of the Cannon and small Arms. The Bassa assured the *Polish* General who succeeded him in the Government of the Place, that he had rather have died in the Defence of it, than have resigned it voluntarily in that Manner.

To

To return to *Warſaw*; the King was preparing to ſet out for his *German* Dominions where his Preſence was neceſſary. The Diet was diſſolved, and the greateſt part of the Nuncios returned to their Provinces. The Senate aſſembled and it was expected would begin with the Regulation of the Affairs, referred by the Diet to their Deciſion. But their firſt Application was to deliberate upon the King's Journey. That Prince had not thought fit to mention it to the Diet, apprehending it might ſupply matter for Controverſy, take up too much Time to no purpoſe, and prevent the good Effects of ſo much Trouble. This made him content himſelf with ſignifying his Reſolution to the Senate. The Event ſhewed they did not conſider it in the ſame light with himſelf, but as an Affair of the greateſt Importance. 1699. The King prepares for *Saxony*.

The Senate was divided in Opinion: Some, more attach'd to the publick Utility than the King's Perſon, repreſented, that he could not abſent himſelf at a Time, when his Preſence was neceſſary to the execution of the Diet's Reſolutions, to the reparation of Breaches occaſioned by the long Diſorders, and to reſtore the Tranquillity of the Republick. Others added, that the *Saxon* Troops were ſtill in *Poland*, where if the King left them, they could have no recourſe to him for the Diſcharge The Senate conſiders that Journey.

1699. of his Royal Word. The oppoſite Party reply'd; this Journey was eſſential to the King for two Reaſons of equal Importance, one, that he might drink the Waters of *Toplitz*, the other, that he might make a ſhort Reſidence in his *German* Eſtates, to which his paternal Cares were as much due as to his Kingdom. The King's health, ſaid they, which ought to be dear to every good Patriot, is concerned in it. The Good of the Republick depends upon the King's Preſervation, and it would be an ill Method of re-eſtabliſhing the Affairs of the Kingdom, to oppoſe the perfect Well-doing of Him who is its head. It would be a great hardſhip upon a Monarch to be denied the Relief the loweſt Particular has a Right to uſe whenever he pleaſes. At that Rate, added they, the King muſt dearly buy a Crown, if he muſt wear it only by the Forfeiture of his natural Right: And as he has not renounced his Hereditary Eſtates, it is his duty to viſit and conſole a People, who are ſufficiently Sufferers by not having him always amongſt them. They concluded with demonſtrating his Majeſty might very well abſent himſelf for ſome Months without any Injury to the Government, ſince whilſt the Senate acted by his Authority, or to uſe the Expreſſion under his Crown, nothing would be wanting

ing to the Adminiſtration of Affairs with the ſame Prudence and Vigour. 1699.

The Senate met from the 12th to the 15th of *Auguſt*, and preſented the Reſult of their Conferences to the King, who approved the twelve principal Articles, of which theſe are the moſt important: That before his Departure the King ſhould ſend circular Letters into all the *Palatinates*, to ſignify the Occaſions of his Journey: That the two Grand Marſhals ſhould quarter the Army as they ſhould think proper: That the General of Great *Poland* appointed for the Embaſſy of *Conſtantinople*, ſhould receive fifty thouſand Crowns from the Treaſury, and his Secretary three thouſand: That two thouſand Florins ſhould be given the Miniſter from the King and the Republick to *Crim Tartary*, with the Preſent of ten thouſand Ducats promiſed to the Cham of *Little Tartary* by the Treaty of *Carlowitz*: That the Treaſurers ſhould continue to collect the publick Revenues: That the Secretaries of the Ambaſſadors Mediators, or thoſe who might arrive from *Adrianople* with Commiſſions, ſhould be immediately diſpatch'd, and each of them allowed twelve hundred Crowns for the Expence of their Journey: That each of the ſixteen Deputies from the Army ſhould be paid a Gratification of two thouſand Florins: That the Settling of the Ar- Senate's Reſolutions.

1699. rears due to the Great Generals, ſhould be referr'd to the firſt General Diet: That a Sum of an hundred thouſand Florins ſhould be apply'd in purchaſing the neceſſary Proviſions for the Frontier Places; and that the King ſhould appoint Commiſſioners to adjuſt amicably the Affair of *Elbing*.

Council of Regency eſtabliſhed. It now only remained for *Auguſtus* to eſtabliſh a Council of Regency, for the Government of the Kingdom till his return. The Primate, aſſiſted by a certain Number of the Senators and Great Officers of the Kingdom and Dutchy, was intruſted with the Royal Authority, and impowered by the King, to concert with his Collegues and the Miniſters of the Elector, an Accommodation equally deſired by each Party. The King appointed for his Commiſſioners, the Biſhop of *Cujavia*, the Palatine of *Marienburgh* and two *Caſtellans*, and gave a gracious Audience to *Werner* Reſident of *Brandenburgh*, which Miniſter was returned to *Warſaw* ſome time before. A Memorial had indeed been delivered to him, by which it appeared *Poland* had Pretenſions upon *Brandenburgh*, the Diſcharge of which the Republick had as juſt a Right to claim, as the Elector of his Demand. But this Difficulty was not ſo much an Art to evade the Accommodation and amuſe the Carpet, as an honourable

Commiſſioners appointed.

Pretext

Pretext for opening the Conferences, and to draw on the Negotiation. The Elector on his part gave *Galeski* Miniſter of *Poland* a favourable Reception. Stop was put to the March of Troops on both Sides, and to the Preparations that had alarmed all the neighbouring States. 1699.

The King having made theſe Diſpoſitions, and provided for the Tranquillity of the Kingdom in his Abſence, left *Warſaw* the 25th of *Auguſt* with a very ſmall Train, lodged the next Day at *Lowitz* with the Primate, who went thither to receive him, and arrived at *Dreſden* the 5th of *September*. King ſets out for *Saxony*.

The Affair of *Elbing* was not hitherto much advanced. The Republick had already agreed to pay the Elector three hundred thouſand Crowns, who demanded four hundred thouſand, and would not quit the Town without ſufficient Security for the Payment of that Sum. It was propoſed to give him in pledge the Towns of *Putzigh*, *Marienwerder*, and *Polonga*; but that Scheme was rejected by the Senate. Part of the Crown-Jewels were alſo offered the Elector who refuſed to take them, giving for his Reaſon, that ſuch a Pledge would be of no Uſe to him, as he could apply it to no Occaſion whilſt in his keeping. He would perhaps have been better ſatisfied with a Propoſal made by ſome People, Negotiations upon the Affair of *Elbing*.

1699. which was to cancel the Debt, by conſenting that *Poliſh* Commiſſaries ſhould not be ſent for the future into *Pruſſia* in the Elector's Poſſeſſion, to receive Homage for it from his Succeſſors, and that both he and they ſhould be releaſed from the Obligation of acknowledging the Sovereignty of *Poland*, and from the Aid of fifteen hundred Men in caſe of its being attacked by a foreign Power. It was not thought proper to ſacrifice Rights of that Value for ſuch a Sum.

The Negotiation was protracted till Winter, and ſeemed ſometimes on ſo ill a Foot as to give no Reaſon to expect its Iſſue would be happy. The Baron *Overbeck* was however come to *Warſaw*, to act in quality of Envoy in concert with the Reſident *Werner*. He perſiſted in the Demand, and declared to the Primate, the Elector would not recede from his Claim of 400000 Crowns and the Security. But a Journey he made to *Berlin* inclined that Court to be leſs averſe to the Propoſals offered. At his return Things had a different Aſpect: That Miniſter with the Reſident, were admitted the 11th of *December* into the Aſſembly of the Senate, where they were received with great marks of Eſteem and Friendſhip. They there declared the Elector agreed to take the 300000 Crowns, and would accept the Jewels of the

the Crown as Security for the payment of that Sum. 1699.

A Treaty was accordingly prepared and ſigned the next Day, which conſiſted of nine Articles. The firſt contains a reciprocal Promiſe of being void of all Reſentment, not only upon account of the Seizure of *Elbing*, but of all things ſaid, wrote, and publiſhed upon that occaſion; to re-eſtabliſh between the contracting Powers a ſincere Friendſhip, an inviolable Union, and a perpetual Alliance, according to ancient and modern Treaties, that at *Velaw* expreſsly mentioned. The ſecond Article fixes the Evacuation of *Elbing* for the firſt of *February* 1700, without altering the ancient Fortifications in any manner. Thirdly, the Elector promiſes to leave all things there as he found them, and that nothing more ſhould be carried from thence, than had been taken away ſince his Poſſeſſion of the Place. In the fourth place, the King and Republick of *Poland* promiſed faithfully to pay the Elector in the City of *Warſaw*, three Months after the next General Diet of the Kingdom ſhould be held, the Sum of 300000 Rixdollars, and for his better Security to deliver, the Day before the Evacuation of *Elbing*, into the Hands of the Elector or his Commiſſioners, the Crown-Jewels; of which an Inventory ſigned and ſealed ſhould be taken, to aſcertain their being returned in the ſame kind

Treaty between *Poland* and the Elector for the Reſtitution of *Elbing*.

1699. kind and condition, when the Payment ſhould be made according to Agreement. The fifth Article permits the Elector, in default of Payment, not only to retain the Jewels ſo engaged, but further to repoſſeſs himſelf of *Elbing* and its Demeſns, till the entire diſcharge of his Demand. The four other Articles relate to ſome ſlight Differences which this Treaty gave occaſion to regulate.

Place ſurrendered to the *Poles.*

At the Day fixed the Troops of *Brandenrurgh* quitted *Elbing* by Torch-light in the Evening. The Jewels had been delivered to the Elector's Commiſſioners, and the next Day thoſe of *Poland* ordered *Te Deum* to be ſung in the principal Church, and appointed the Magiſtracy to attend them the Day following. They reproached them with baſeneſs, in opening the Gates of their City to the Elector's Troops, and remonſtrated the conſequential Penalties incurred by that Fault, and the Chaſtiſement they merited, if the King and Republick, recalling their parental Tenderneſs for the City of *Elbing*, had not ordered them to be treated with Lenity. The Magiſtrates pleaded ſeveral Reaſons in their Juſtification, and the Commiſſioners objected others, to convince them they deſerved to loſe their Privileges; of which it was not however intended to deprive them, but rather to prepare them to receive the Conditions, under which

which they were to hold them for the future, as an Inſtance of Grace and Favour. They were as follow: 1699.

That when the Jewels of the Crown were redeemed, the City of *Elbing* ſhould furniſh 50000 Crowns as their Proportion: That inſtead of 200 Soldiers, uſually retained to guard the Poſts, they ſhould keep 300 Foot and thirty Horſe, which in caſe of danger ſhould be augmented to 2000 effective Men: That an experienced Officer ſhould be retained in quality of Commandant, who ſhould take an Oath of ſuitable extent, the Form to be preſcribed by the Commiſſioners: That beſides the uſual Oath, the Preſident of the Council ſhould be obliged to ſwear he would never ſurrender the Town to any Beſieger, till reduced to the laſt Extremity; and that ſome new Privileges, ſpecified by the Treaty, ſhould be granted the Roman Catholicks and their Church. Such was the Concluſion of an Affair, in which *Auguſtus* would have hearkened only to his Courage, and the firſt Impreſſions the Elector's Enterprize had given him, if the *Poliſh* Nation would have ſeconded him; but the Diviſions of the Kingdom prevented. Upon cool Reflexion on every thing, he made the beſt Choice in his Power; and the Republick having expreſſed their Deſire, that a Quarrel of ſo long Duration ſhould be terminated

Conditions impoſed upon *Elbing* by the *Poles.*

1699. ed by a Treaty, he left the whole Care and Management of it to themſelves, preſerving the Elector's Friendſhip, which was neceſſary to the Execution of the Deſigns he had formed.

Troubles in *Holſtein.*

A Storm aroſe on the ſide of *Holſtein.* The *Swediſh* and *Daniſh* Troops were aſſembled there, and only the badneſs of the Seaſon prevented their coming to Action. The Princes of the *North*, moſt of them young and fond of Glory, no ſooner ſaw the Appearances of a Rupture than they endeavoured to have their ſhare in the Sport. But it will be neceſſary to trace the Origin of this War, the Source of ſo many great Events and ſtrange Revolutions.

The Dutchy by whom poſſeſſed, and in what Right.

The Dutchies of *Holſtein-Gottorp* and *Sleswick*, in virtue of family Treaties, from the Reign of *Chriſtiern* III, were held in common by the Kings of *Denmark* and the Dukes of *Holſtein-Gottorp.* The King of *Denmark* could make no Innovations there without the Duke, nor the Duke without the King. This Union had continued down to *Chriſtian Albert* Duke of *Holſtein-Gottorp*, to whom the Attempt to act in contradiction to Treaty, had coſt his Sovereignty. The Treaty of *Altena* had reſtored him to his Dominions. Prince *Frederick* his eldeſt Son, who ſucceeded him in 1695, thought of nothing but Independance, and the Abolition of the Government

vernment in common, eſtabliſhed by the family Agreement. In this View he had made a ſtrict Alliance with *Sweden*, augmented his Troops, taken foreign Soldiers into his Service, and began to fortify ſeveral Places; which might be taken as ſo many Innovations. 1699. The Duke's Enterprizes.

Frederick IV, King of *Denmark*, perceiving the Duke's ill Deſign in the irregularity of his Proceedings, took Meaſures to prevent their Effect. He had already aſſembled his Troops in *Holſtein*, and ſummoned the Duke to demoliſh the Forts he had raiſed, threatening in caſe of refuſal, to raze them with his own Troops. K. of *Denmark* endeavours to prevent their Effect.

The Powers, Guarantees of the Treaty of *Altena*, had ſuſpended hitherto the Rupture by their Negotiations: But they could come to no Agreement among themſelves. *England*, *Holland*, and the Duke of *Zell*, threatened to aſſiſt the Duke of *Holſtein*, in caſe the King of *Denmark* ſhould attack his Forts. The Miniſters of the Emperor and the Elector of *Brandenburgh* demanded that the *Swediſh* Troops ſhould retire from *Holſtein*, and that the King of *Denmark* ſhould engage his Troops ſhould not move. The King of *Sweden*, a young Prince, impatient to ſignalize his Valour, deſired to renounce the Character of Mediator, that he might give the Duke all the Aſſiſtance a Brother-in-law and Ally could expect. The King of The Rupture ſuſpended.

1699. of *Poland*, who was also a Mediator, advised the King of *Denmark* to support his Right by Arms, as nothing could be obtained by Treaty, and offered to assist him with 8000 Men, in pursuance of the Alliance between them.

Augustus's offers to the King of *Denmark.*

His Motives for them.

That Prince had his Reasons for making these Offers. He held thereby the Balance between the two Northern Kings, performed his Engagements, and had the Advantage of an Opportunity to employ his Troops. There was still a difficulty, which was to get passage thro' the Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s Lands. *Augustus* sent General *Flemming* to demand it, as the King of *Denmark* did Count *Revantlau* Junior. The two Ministers miscarry'd in their Commissions. The Court of *Berlin* declared that, as War had not been proclaimed against the King of *Denmark*, they believed it incumbent on them to prevent the Rupture, rather than promote it by granting the Passage demanded: That they could not grant such Passage to Auxiliary Troops, without exposing the Circle of Lower *Saxony* to the danger of becoming the Scene of War, which would be contrary to the *Condirectorium*, the principal Obligations of which were to preserve the Peace of the Circle, and to act nothing without the Participation of the other Directors, and in fine as the Mediators were treating

Elector of *Brandenburgh* refuses him Passage.

at

at *Hamburgh* upon the Satisfaction demanded by the King of *Denmark*, it was neceſſary to wait the Reſult of thoſe Conferences. 1699.

There was ſomething ſpecious in this Anſwer, but at bottom its Partiality was evident. It ſuppoſes the King of *Denmark* not to be attacked; as if the Duke of *Holſtein*'s Innovations, ſupported by the Forces of *Sweden*, were not a formal Aggreſſion, in direct Violation of Treaties, upon the Faith of which the Court of *Copenhagen* had a Right to inſiſt. The Prince's Partiality.

The *Poles* however could not endure the Continuance of the *Saxons* upon their Lands. They daily killed ſome of them, and the Nobility of the Provinces where they were quartered, threatened from time to time to mount on horſeback and drive them out of *Poland*. From the Concluſion of their Diviſions, thoſe Troops had wandered from Province to Province, and changed their Quarters continually, to avoid the Effects of the Diſcontent and Jealouſy of the *Poles*. The King, who had been obliged to go to *Dreſden*, was not in a Condition to remedy thoſe Evils at that diſtance, which was all he could have hoped had he been preſent. The Primate in vain ſollicited his Return to *Warſaw*: His Preſence was as neceſſary at *Dreſden*, where the States of the Electorate were aſſembled. *Poles* Averſion to the *Saxons*.

He

1699. He demanded from them an extraordinary Subsidy, and that they would put the Militia into a Condition to march upon the first Orders, without telling them the use he intended to make of them. He had no reason to repent his not having complied with the Primate's Sollicitation. The States of *Saxony* agreed to both his Demands, granting for the Subsidy a Million of *German* Florins.

The Courts of *Europe* endeavour to prevent the War.

During this time the principal Courts of *Europe* emulated each other, in their Endeavours to prevent the Flame ready to break out in the *North*. The Emperor among others earnestly sollicited the King of *Poland* not to assist *Denmark* against *Sweden*, but without effect. *Augustus* had a double Advantage in a different Conduct. On the one hand he had a Pretence to retain his *Saxon* Troops, of which the Republick importuned him to rid the Kingdom. On the other, he had an occasion to employ them without their being of any Expence to the *Poles*. This Design was the more easy to be executed, as the Elector of *Brandenburgh* had promised to oppose no longer the Passage of his Troops. But the Storm broke out where it was least expected.

Irruption of the *Saxons* into *Livonia*.

At a time when all the World expected to see the *Saxon* Troops march to the Assistance of *Denmark*, and carry Terror into *Holstein*, they turned suddenly upon *Livonia*,

nia, entered that Province with Fire and Sword, carried the Fort of *Kober* by Storm, and prepared to form the Blockade of *Riga*. 1699.

That Irruption was the more ſurpriſing as it could not be imagined the Effect of *Auguſtus*'s Zeal for an Ally, who had hitherto been only threatened, and as *Sweden* promiſed not to attack him, if he did not begin with the Duke of *Holſtein*. Beſides which there had, not been any previous Declaration of War. But it was reported ſoon after, as the Effect of that celebrated Captain of the *Livonian* Nobility, *Patkul*'s Advice, who had the Zeal to ſacrifice himſelf in defence of the Privileges of his Country. He had made his Eſcape out of Priſon from *Stockholm*, where *Charles* XI. had condemned him to have his Hand cut off, with the loſs of Honour, Life, and Fortune; and carried into *Poland* all the Reſentment ſuch a Sentence could inſpire in a Man convinced of his Innocence. He repreſented to the King of *Poland* the Facility of conquering a Country, where the Nobility and common People groaned equally under the Burden of tyrannick Power. Surpriſe cauſed by it.

However, as it was conſiſtent to give ſome Colour of Juſtice to an Enterprize of that nature, inſtead of a Manifeſto, and to ſupply in ſome manner a Declaration of War

1699. which had been omitted, *Flemming* General of the *Saxons*, justified his Hostilities by a Declaration, published after his entering *Livonia*. He said in his Master's Name, That the Threats of *Sweden*, and the Conduct of those who commanded in *Livonia*, not leaving room to doubt but the *Swedes* intended to attack the *Saxon* Troops, upon the Arrival of the Reinforcements they expected, he thought himself obliged, in prevention of such Designs, to enter *Livonia*, and to secure himself of the best Posts he could to disconcert their Enterprizes. He offered the Nobles, Burghers, and Peasants, his Safeguards, that they might not suffer any damage from his Troops, and protested that all who should disobey his Orders, should be considered as Rebels to the King, and punished with death.

Flemming publishes a Declaration.

That General's Declaration did not meet with the Credulity from the Publick, to convince them the King of *Poland*'s Intention was only to prevent the Dangers which threatened him. It was judged he only took time by the Forelock, and seized the Opportunity of making a Conquest which had so often escaped his Predecessors. He was a little too hasty. It was not yet time to execute a Project of that Importance. He had flattered himself, the *Livonian* Nobility would have received his General with open Arms upon his first Appearance.

Which has no Effect.

Flem-

Flemming made the fineſt Profeſſions in vain; no body came near him; and detached to as little purpoſe fifty Horſe, with Orders to ride thro' the Country, and offer War or Peace every where. Theſe Offers were not at all regarded, the People continuing firm to their Duty; leſs perhaps from their Attachment to a Sovereign, who had deprived them of their Privileges, and part of their Fortunes, than from the Fear their Rebellion ſhould one Day draw upon them a more ſevere Treatment. There were ſome Gentlemen who had Reſolution enough to mount on horſeback, and endeavour to perſuade their Countrymen to perſiſt in the Intereſt of *Sweden*. 1699.

Flemming was not more ſucceſsful at *Riga*. He thought his Appearance before that Place would ſuffice to make them open their Gates to him, and accordingly approached and ſummoned them to ſurrender; but was ſoon apprized the Garriſon was reſolved to hold out to the laſt Extremity. As he was in want of all Neceſſaries for forming a Siege, he put himſelf at the head of 2000 Horſe, and made a ſecond Attempt to engage the Nobility to change their Maſter. In a Progreſs of ſix Days he gained only ſix Horſemen to his Party, with a Booty of three hundred Oxen and ſome Carriages. *Flemming* ſummons *Riga*.

1700. General *Dahlberg*, who commanded in the place, took the advantage of this Delay, to put himself into a condition of defence. He was of a great age, and chose an experienced Colonel for his Assistant, with whom he was contented to share the Glory of the Siege. Lest the Fortress of *Dunamunder* should be carried, as that of *Kober* had been, he put a strong Garrison ito it. He made also a great Fire with his Artillery, and even ordered a Sally; but neither with any considerable Advantage. His Conduct in setting the Suburb on fire was more successful; at least *Flemming* did not seem to like him the better for it, as may be judged from his Letter of the 26th of *February*. It contained only some dry Pleasantries, and an affected Compassion for the Loss of so many People, who had suffered in the burning of the Suburb. *Dahlberg* answered it in the most sensible manner. Your Letter, said he, expresses great Compassion for the Suburb that was burnt; but as there was nothing done on that occasion, not authorised by the Rights of War, and which has not been the Practice in all Places upon like occasions, I shall know how to justify my Conduct in proper time and place.

Which prepares for a vigorous Defence.

Flemming's Errors. Whatever face *Flemming* put upon it, he perceived the Error of entering *Livonia* in the midst of Winter, a Season so improper for the necessary Operations of a Siege. He

He had beſides neglected to provide great Artillery, expecting the Keeper of the Stores at *Birſen* would have ſupplied that want. This Article gave him ſome difficulty; the Storekeeper refuſing to obey the King's Order without the Great General's Conſent. However, reflecting upon the Conſequences which might attend his Refuſal, and that the ill Succeſs of an Enterprize, advantageous to the Republick, might be imputed to him, he ſent the Cannon demanded to the Camp. *Flemming* then finding himſelf in condition to act effectively, reſolved to reduce the City of *Riga* in earneſt. His Intention was not to open Trenches, nor attack it in the uſual Form: He thought to make himſelf Maſter of the Place by Bombardment; and the ſame Perſon who had expreſſed ſo much Compaſſion for the burning of the Suburb, was upon the point of reducing the City to Aſhes, if Diſpatches from the King, which arrived at that time, had not put a ſtop to his Meaſures. That Prince's Orders to his General were not to bombard the Place 'till he had tried all other Methods, which made it neceſſary to change the Battery; and *Flemming* reſolved to attack *Dunamunder*. 1700.

Fort of *Duna munder* inveſted.

The Name alone of that Fort implies its Importance. It commands the Mouth of the River, and might cover Relief intended for the City. The 12th of *March Flem-*

1700. *ming* ſent 500 Horſe, and as many Dragoons to inveſt it, who were immediately followed by 1200 Foot. The 18th 4000 Men more approached the Fort, and began to canonade it. In conſequence of which at two in the morning, General *Carlowitz* at the head of 1500 Men gave the Aſſault. The *Saxons* mounted the Breach with the utmoſt fury, and made good by their Intrepidity the Reputation their Valour had acquired: But they had to do with a good Garriſon who expected them with undaunted Reſolution. A great Fire enſued on each ſide. But the Cannon of the Fort decided it for that Day, and the *Saxons* were repulſed with the Loſs of General *Carlowitz*, and about 600 Men.

And aſſaulted.

Preparations for a ſecond Aſſault.

This ill Succeſs did not diſcourage *Flemming*. Confident from the Valour of his Troops, and reſolved not to give the beſieged the leaſt Reſpite, he detached 2000 Men the next Night, who advanced under the Cannon of the Fort with an undaunted Air, and in a diſpoſition to renew the Aſſault. A Sight of that kind put the Commandant *Budberg* upon conſidering. He had loſt his beſt Soldiers in the former Attack, and the greateſt part of thoſe who remained were Peaſants forced into the Service, and as little qualified in Inclination as Diſcipline for a good Defence. He was afraid of being ſtormed by Troops, who diſcovered a Reſolution to conquer or periſh, and deſired to capi-

capitulate, which was granted upon Conditions as honourable as he could expect. 1700. Fort capitulates.

All the World believed the taking this Fort would engage *Flemming* to push the Siege of *Riga* more vigorously, as every thing conspired to persuade him. The *Saxons* had found a Reinforcement of Artillery at *Dunamunder*, new Troops were arrived, and good Policy required they should push the Enemy before they were relieved. They were however contented with blocking up the Place more closely, and to summon the Governor and threaten the Inhabitants. The Governor having answered with the Assurance natural to true Courage, that he had wherewithal to defend himself, and knew his Duty; *Flemming* represented he was going to expose the City to the greatest Unhappiness, and would be accountable for all the ill Consequences a Place must expect to suffer, which made a rash Resistance. His Design was to terrify the Inhabitants, make them revolt against the Governor, save Expences, and spare his Soldiers. *Riga* blockaded and summoned again.

The King was upon his return to *Warsaw*, and talked in the same Strain with his General. In a Manifesto, published by his Order, he offered his Protection to those who would throw off the *Swedish* Yoke; he granted to the Inhabitants of all Towns and to the *English* and *Hollanders*, who traded with them, the Liberty of continu- King of *Poland*'s Manifesto.

1700. ing there in ſafety, and recommended to his General to be particularly careful in the preſervation of Places, and above all of *Riga*, unleſs the Obſtinacy of the Inhabitants ſhould render them unworthy of ſuch Favour: In which caſe he threaten'd to treat them as Enemies, who might impute their Ruin to themſelves, diſcharged him from anſwering it before God, and acquitted him from all Reproach before Man.

Who orders the Envoy of *Sweden* to quit *Poland*.

Till then the Envoy of *Sweden* had continued at *Warſaw*. Some Days after the King's Arrival, he had orders to depart the Dominions of the Republick. He drew that Affront upon himſelf, by having inſinuated to ſeveral of the Senators, that the Expedition of *Livonia* concealed ſomething of more dangerous tendency to the *Poles* than the *Swedes*. He had endeavoured to perſuade them, that that Prince had Abſolute Power in view, and adviſed them to put a ſtop to his Meaſures, and to ſuſpect his whole Conduct. *Auguſtus* was apprehenſive ſuch Language might make impreſſions upon a People, fond of their Liberty to Idolatry, and induce them to prevent his Deſign of engaging the Republick to break with *Sweden*.

This was no eaſy matter to effect. *Lithuania* indeed approved the Rupture, but the greater Part of the *Poliſh* Grandees were averſe to it; ſo that *Auguſtus* was not in

in haſte to aſſemble a General Diet, tho' very earneſtly ſollicited to that purpoſe. He apprehended their Reſolutions, and was better pleaſed with aſſembling a Great Council, from which he flattered himſelf he ſhould find leſs Oppoſition. He was however very near the Mortification of ſeeing his Project come to nothing. Of the Members who were to compoſe that Aſſembly, ſome excuſed themſelves, and others came to *Warſaw* not without Reluctance; the Aſſembly met notwithſtanding the 25th of *May*, and there ſeemed a ſufficient Appearance of Lords to deliberate and take Reſolutions. 1700. King calls a great Council.

The *Livonian* Expedition was the firſt and indeed only Affair taken into Conſideration. The King propoſed, that Commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to conſider the Demands which the *Daniſh* Envoy had to make, and to anſwer them in the Name of the Republick; and declared afterwards, that as the Governor of *Livonia* had inſulted the *Saxon* Troops employed in fortifying the Gate of *Polangen*, he thought it his duty to revenge that Affront. "The Injury, continued he, regards the *Poliſh* Nation as well as me. I had no other view "in fortifying that Gate than its particular Service: The Republick is therefore "obliged to concur in my Revenge, and "can be the leſs diſpenſed from aſſiſting me "in the Enterprize, as the Advantage will "be His Propoſals to it.

1700. "be their own. In doing ſo it will recover one of its Domains, and get rid of a Neighbour who at beſt can only give it Umbrage and diſturb its Tranquillity." He concluded with ſaying, the calling of the Diet was only deferr'd upon account of the Diviſions which took place in the ſeveral Tribunals: That if a Diet ſhould be judg'd neceſſary, he was ready to agree upon the proper Time for calling it, in order to their taking a final Reſolution in regard to the Conqueſt of *Livonia*; under the Engagement of his Royal Word to reſtore that Province to *Poland*, as ſoon as it ſhould be in his Poſſeſſion.

Without Succeſs. As ſpecious as theſe Repreſentations were, they did not make much Impreſſion. The Majority of the Aſſembly would not explain themſelves. They concluded, as this Affair affected all Orders of the Kingdom, the Republick only had a Right to decide it, and that it was neceſſary to ſummon a General Diet as ſoon as poſſible. Others maintained, that as War had not yet been declared between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and their Difference was ſtill before the Mediators, it was not conſiſtent with the Generoſity of the Republick to determine a Rupture, by exaſperating either of thoſe Powers, nor with its Intereſt to open a War which might be attended with unhappy Conſequences to itſelf. They added that the Affront

front committed by the Governor of *Livonia*, regarded ſolely the *Saxons* and reflected but obliquely upon the King of *Poland*; that it was the Elector of *Saxony*'s Buſineſs to avenge that Inſult; and that the *Poles* ought not to hazard inconſiſtently the Peace they enjoy'd. Beſides, continued they, the Fault of the Governor of a Province is no Reaſon that two States ſhould come to a Rupture. Is it not more expedient to demand Juſtice from his Maſter, after whoſe Refuſal it were time enough for taking violent Meaſures? As for the Pretext for deferring the holding of a Diet, it was the more frivolous in their Acceptation, as nothing was leſs common in *Poland* than the Agreement of all the Tribunals. Some of the Senators were embarraſſed upon another Account. They were willing to comply with the King, but conſcious of the ill State of the Republick's Affairs, unprovided as well of Troops as Money, they diſtinguiſh'd the danger of having a King at the head of an Army, in the midſt of a Commonwealth whoſe Forces were exhauſted. 1700.

Auguſtus's Reſolutions.

Auguſtus eaſily perceived the Republick would not conſent to the War, and referred the Diet ſo much ſollicited to the end of *December*, but perſevered no leſs in the Execution of his Deſigns. He declared to the Senate, that independently of the Oppoſition of the Great Council, he was determined

1700. mined to continue the War with *Sweden*, and to execute the ancient Treaty of Alliance between *Poland* and *Denmark*, ratified by the Republick in 1658. That Prince was the more confirmed in his Resolution, as a good Number of the Senators were in his Party; among which Number he might reckon upon the Primate, who observing the Republick's Advantage in seizing a Province so much to its Convenience, judged it not unreasonable to overlook some Irregularities. What was more particular in this Affair, was the Bishop of *Cujavia*'s being one of the strongest in the Opposition to the King's Designs. He had refused to be present at the Great Council, and did not stop there. He wrote to that Prince, and declared plainly, that he could not make War upon the King of *Sweden* without invading the Rights of the Republick.

Efforts of the *French* Ambassador to incline him to Peace.

France was not wanting in its Endeavours for the Repose of *Sweden*. The Ambassador did his utmost to inspire *Augustus* with thoughts of Peace, and to induce the *Senate* to disapprove the Rupture. He advised them to continue the Peace, and to leave the Decision of Differences to the Mediators. His Cry was every where Peace and Mediation, and neither Great nor Small could hear any other Discourse. His single Application gave the King as much Trouble as a whole Diet together. That Prince try'd

try'd to amuſe him by giving him Words. He told him, that being engaged in the Common Cauſe with his Allies, he was under an Obligation to communicate his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Propoſals to them in writing, before he could determine for himſelf. This Evaſion ſerved only for a Time. When the Ambaſſador ſaw the Couriers had ſtayed long enough for their Anſwers, he renewed his Attack, and importuned the King to explain himſelf at large. That Prince gave him the Satisfaction he demanded. He told him the Affair was too much advanced to admit him to recede, and that for the future there was no other Methods of treating with *Sweden* than Sword in Hand. 1700. *Auguſtus* endeavours to amuſe him.

Auguſtus went in Perſon ſoon after into *Livonia* to animate the Attacks of *Riga*, or rather to make a Feint of commencing the Siege in form. The Attacks till then had not been very lively, no Trenches had been opened; the *Saxons* had contented themſelves with firing ſome Cannon at a diſtance with little or no Succeſs; and as General *Flemming* had left the Camp, and was gone to *Warſaw*, to ask a Reinforcement of Troops and a Supply of Money, Hoſtilities had in a manner ceaſed on both Sides. The King's Arrival put his Troops in motion, who were reinforced almoſt at the ſame time with about 10000 Men, Horſe

1700. Horſe and Foot from *Saxony*. He attempted to paſs the *Dwina* about five Miles from *Riga*. Some of the *Swedes*, who had been ſent to the Relief of *Livonia*, made head againſt him but gave way upon the firſt Attack. They were forced to retreat, and leave the *Saxons* at Liberty to encamp on the other Side of the River.

He paſſes the *Dwina*.

And poſts himſelf advantageouſly on the other Side of the River.

The King's firſt Care was to poſt himſelf to the beſt Advantage. He ſeized a riſing Ground covered with Trees and Buſhes, which ſerved to cover his Cannon from the view of his Enemy. To avoid Surpriſe his Rearguard did not paſs the River, but remained on the other Side, where it alſo took poſſeſſion of an Eminence, and planted a Battery of Cannon. Whilſt *Auguſtus* made theſe Diſpoſitions, *Welling* the *Swediſh* General, who encamped at half a League from *Riga* with 10000 *Finlanders*, Horſe and Foot, thought it neceſſary to quit his Entrenchments and take a View of the *Saxons*, whom he believed much weaker than they were. *Auguſtus* made uſe of a Stratagem to continue him in his Error. That Prince oppoſed him only for two Days with ſmall Detachments, who advanced ſlowly towards the Enemy, fired at a diſtance in a hurry, and retired with the utmoſt Diligence.

General *Welling* deceived by a Stratagem.

Welling deceived by theſe Feints, gave into the Snare, and advanced with Reſolution to give Battle to an Enemy he looked upon

on as half conquered; but he had been ill ſerved by his Spies. No ſooner was he come within reach of the *Saxon* Artillery, than he was ſaluted with a Storm of Bullets, from a Place where he did not ſuſpect a ſingle Piece of Cannon, and obliged to retire after having loſt ſeveral hundred Men. 1700.

The next Day the laſt of *July*, the *Saxons* encouraged by this Succeſs, came down from their Hills, and went in their turn in queſt of the Enemy, who notwithſtanding the Shock he had received the Day before, perſiſted in his Error of believing the *Saxon* Army leſs numerous than his own; but was at laſt undeceived when he ſaw a Body of Troops advance, capable of ſurrounding him. The Inequality of the Combat did not however abate his Courage. He received the firſt fire without giving way; but as it had not been a little raſh to have ſtood his Ground longer againſt an Army twice as ſtrong as his own, and ſupported with Artillery, which gave it an additional Superiority, *Welling*, after having ſent off the Baggage and Cannon into his Camp, retreated thither with the reſt of his Troops, leaving five or ſix hundred dead upon the Field. *Auguſtus* marches up to the Enemy, and has the Advantage.

Auguſtus animated by his firſt Succeſs, advanced the firſt of *Auguſt* towards *Riga*, with Reſolution to attack the *Finlanders* in their Camp. *Welling* ſaved him that Trou- He advances towards *Riga*.

ble:

1700. ble: He quitted his Poſt, and entered farther into *Livonia* with intent to ſeize the Paſſes, by which the *Saxon* Partizans might plunder the flat Country.

He took with him however only 4000 Horſe and 1000 Foot; the reſt of his Troops marched into the Town, as did the Inhabitants of the Country round about, and all Houſes were ſet on fire, that could be of any Uſe to the Beſiegers. The Body of *Finlanders* which covered the City of *Riga* being thus removed, the King made a Shew of intending to attack the Place. He approached ſo near it with deſign to take his Obſervations, that ſome of his Horſe-guards were killed by the Cannon from the Town. After which he inveſted the Place, and ſent to ſummon the Governor to ſurrender it in ſix Days, charging him with all Conſequences in caſe of his refuſal. *Dahlberg*, who knew his Duty, replied, That he thought it an honour a great King would condeſcend to attack him in Perſon, and that his Glory would be ſo much the greater, in defending himſelf to the laſt Extremity. *Auguſtus* had leſs Inclination to beſiege the Town in form, than to have the Gates opened to him; for which reaſon he made uſe of Promiſes and Threats alternately. When he ſaw the Governor was inflexible, he applied to the Inhabitants. He ſent back thirty of their fellow Citizens who

He ſummons the Governor.

had been taken Priſoners, giving them their Liberty upon condition they ſhould aſſure the Burghers of *Riga*, that if they did not open their Gates at the time fixed, their Ruin was inevitable, and that they ſhould only ſurvive their City to ſee it buried in its own Aſhes. 1700.

Dreadful as this Sentence was, the Inhabitants looked upon it only as a Threat: *Auguſtus* they believed had other Notions than to conquer an heap of Aſhes, and would think twice before he determined to burn a City of that Importance. However when the fatal Term arrived, the King did not fail to make a Shew of intending the Execution of his Threats: He ordered a certain Number of Bombs with ſome red hot Balls to be thrown into the Place, which did not however do much Damage; but whether he proceeded to that Extremity, only to try if the Inhabitants would talk a more ſubmiſſive Language upon ſeeing their Ruin begin, or complied with the Repreſentations made by the Ambaſſador of the States General, who could not ſuffer a City to be burnt full of Merchandiſe belonging to the *Hollanders*, or whether he thought That no proper Place to expect the *Swediſh* Army, which ſince the Peace of *Holſtein* was upon its March into *Livonia* to attack the *Saxons*; *Auguſtus* Inhabitants Opinion of this Summons.

Motives for raiſing the Siege.

1700. raiſed the Siege directly, and turned his Arms another Way.

War of *Holſtein.* Whilſt the King was beſieging this Place, the Dutchy of *Holſtein* had been the Scene of War. On one Side, a Body of *Saxon* Troops, a Body of *Brandenburghers*, another of *Wolfenbuttle* and a fourth of *Heſſe-Caſſel* had joined the *Danes*, who had taken ſeveral Places there: On the other 8000 *Swedes*, the Troops of *Hanover* and *Zell*, and three *Dutch* Regiments, had entered *Holſtein* to the Duke's Aſſiſtance. In fine *Charles* XII. King of *Sweden* taking advantage of the King of *Denmark*'s Abſence, who was employed in *Holſtein*, had made an unforeſeen Deſcent upon *Zealand*, which Deſcent decided every thing. Maſter of that Iſland and upon the point of ſeizing the Capital, he had threatened to put all Things to Fire and Sword, if the King of *Denmark* did not make Peace with the Duke of *Holſtein*. The *Dane* did not want much intreaty. Attacked at once in *Zealand* and *Holſtein*, he was in no condition to make head on both Sides. He conſented to treat, and the Miniſters met accordingly at *Trawendal*, where the Treaty was ſoon concluded. This Peace left the King of *Sweden* at liberty to carry his Arms into *Livonia*. Rid of the *Danes*, who had reduced him to an unſeaſon-

Its Concluſion.

unſeaſonable Diverſion, he made haſte to oppoſe the two Enemies that remained. 1700.

Theſe were the King of *Poland*, and the *Czar*. Tho' the firſt had loſt an Ally in the King of *Denmark*, that Circumſtance made no Alteration in his Deſigns. It then began to appear he had taken Arms againſt *Sweden* with other Views than of favouring the King of *Denmark* by a Diverſion. Some Months before *Auguſtus* had concluded a League with the *Czar* of *Muſcovy*, to take from *Sweden Livonia*, and all the Lands that Prince poſſeſſed between the Gulf of *Finland*, the *Baltick* Sea, *Poland* and *Muſcovy*. The War which had continued till then between the *Czar* and the Porte, had prevented the Execution of the Project. But the Peace of thirty Years, concluded with the *Turks*, left him at liberty to purſue the Enterpriſe. He had already ſent the Governor of *Novogrod* Orders, to proclaim War againſt *Sweden*, to enter *Livonia*, and to beſiege the beſt Places in that Province. He prepared to march in perſon at the Head of a Body of Troops, to form the Siege of *Narva*, and had already publiſhed a Manifeſto with his Reaſons for taking Arms, and to give his doing ſo a colour of Juſtice. He therein ſaid, that tho' *Sweden* had given him Aſſurances of its Intention to continue in Peace with *Muſcovy*, that Court had nevertheleſs underhand

Deſigns of *Auguſtus* in making War upon *Sweden*.

His League with the *Czar*.

Who publiſhes a Manifeſto.

1700. derhand had recourſe to Intrigues, to diſconcert his Meaſures; that amongſt other Things they had propoſed a League to the King of *Poland*, for acting jointly againſt *Muſcovy*; that thoſe Intrigues had very much conduced to the Difficulties he had met with in concluding a Peace with *Conſtantinople*. He complained alſo, that the King of *Sweden* had compelled the King of *Denmark* his Ally, to make a diſadvantageous Treaty with the Duke of *Holſtein*, from which he had induſtriouſly excluded the King of *Poland*, that he might not want an Opportunity to diſtreſs him. He added, theſe Reaſons obliged him to avenge the Injuries done to his Friends and Allies, and to defeat all dangerous Projects that might be formed to their Prejudice.

His Declaration of War, which he cauſed to be publiſh'd, contained ſome Grievances of much leſs Conſequence than the beforementioned. Among others it ſets forth, that in his paſſing at *Riga* in 1697, the Honours paid him were defective; that they had made him pay too dear for Proviſions; that when he croſſed the *Dwina*, the Barks furniſhed for his Uſe were not good enough, and that they had exacted upon him in the price of them. All the World were of Opinion that that Prince had better have ſuppreſſed ſuch ſort of Grievances, and that it would have been more glorious for him to have concealed the true Reaſons for his taking Arms under

under the Cover of Generosity as he had done before in his Manifesto. 1700.

Several Powers of *Europe* attempted to prevent the Storm about to fall upon *Livonia*. The Emperor earnestly sollicited the King of *Poland* to prefer a Treaty, and the King of *France* offered his Mediation. *Augustus* at first gave hopes of his Acquiescence, and did all things in his power to have it believed, his Inclinations were entirely turned to Peace. His Conduct however agreed but little with his Words; for he lost no Time in advancing the Execution of the Measures concerted between him and the *Czar*. After having desisted from bombarding *Riga*, he intended to secure the Fort of *Kokenhausen*. The 2d of *October* he invested it by a Detachment under the command of Colonel *Schulenburgh*, and afterwards ordered General *Steynau* to besiege it; whose Conduct was much the same as General *Flemming*'s before *Riga*. He sounded the Commandant with Threats and Promises, but those ways making no impression upon that Officer who knew his Duty and had his Honour at Stake, it was necessary to order the Artillery to be brought before the Place. The Fire was so great, that on the 6th the Breach was large enough for the Assault. The Commandant, who could have no hopes of defending it with Success, desired to capitulate; which was the more readily

Several Powers offer their Mediation.

1700. granted, as he was believed ſtill in a Condition to make reſiſtance. It was indeed not known that the Garriſon was in want of Meal for Bread, and that the Bombs which had fallen into the Ciſterns had ſpoiled the Water.

The taking this Fort was of more Uſe than Glory. A ſmall Work carried by a Royal Army, could be conſidered as a matter of little or no Conſequence, and as a Conqueſt of ſmall Honour to the Arms of *Auguſtus*. That Prince however, found his Advantage in it. It opened him a Communication with *Muſcovy*, covered *Courland*, facilitated the Eſtabliſhment of Magazines, and took in a more commodious ſpace of Country for the Winter-quarters of his Troops.

Fort of *Kokenhauſen* capitulates.

Before the End of the Campaign, *Auguſtus* marched ſeveral times in queſt of *Welling*, who continued in *Livonia* with a flying Camp of 10000 Men, but loſt his Labour. The *Swediſh* General, who knew himſelf too weak to hazard a Battle, choſe to retreat, and broke down the Bridges behind him, to ſtop the purſuit of the *Saxons*. *Auguſtus* perceived the Impoſſibility of coming up with him, and called a Council of War, in which it was agreed, that it was in vain to purſue the *Swedes* any longer; becauſe before they could be overtaken, the great Reinforcements, they expected, would arrive;

Advantage of taking that Fort.

arrive; beſides which the Seaſon was too far advanced, and it was reaſonable to fear the Army already afflicted with Sickneſs, would diminiſh conſiderably by new Fatigues. Theſe Reaſons made them conclude it beſt to ſend the Troops into Quarters; upon which the King immediately ſet out for *Warſaw*. 1700.

Whilſt the King of *Poland* had been employed in the purſuit of General *Welling*, the *Muſcovites*, to the Number of near 100000 Men, had entered *Ingria*, and put all Things to Fire and Sword. They had afterwards detached a Body of 8000 Men, to form a Camp before *Narva*. The *Czar* arrived there ſoon after with 20000 Horſe and 10000 Foot, with deſign to beſiege the Place. The 14th of *October* that Prince laid a Bridge of Boats over the *Narva*, paſſed it in perſon Halfpike in hand, and opened the Trenches himſelf. He had given the Command of the Army to the Duke of *Croy*, an experienced *German* General, ranking himſelf as a private Lieutenant. Colonel *Horn* commanded in the Town. The Garriſon was weak; about 1000 Foot and 500 Horſe, with ſome hundreds of Burghers and Peaſants, who had taken Arms. The Fortifications were however in very good Condition. *Czar* beſieges *Narva*.

There were good Reaſons to believe the *Czar* would reduce *Narva* in a very little

1700. time. The Attacks were puſhed with the utmoſt Vigour, and the Breach made in the Body of the Place, when news came that the King of *Sweden* arrived in the Gulf of *Riga* on the 17th of *October*, with deſign to oblige the *Muſcovites* to raiſe the Siege. That Prince had however no more than 20000 Men with him; but he knew their Courage and his own Valour would not ſuffer him to regard the Superiority of an Enemy in point of Number. After their landing at *Pernau*, *Derpt*, and *Revel*, *Charles* drew them up in a Body and encamped near *Waſenburgh*, in expectation of his Artillery and Ammunition from *Sweden*.

King of *Sweden* arrives in *Livonia*.

Upon this News the *Czar*, who knew his Enemy had at moſt but 20000 Men, took meaſures to defeat him. He could not believe that *Charles* with ſuch a handful of Troops would venture to attempt the Relief of *Narva*, beſieged by an Army of near 100000 Men. However he had not ſuch a contempt of the *Swedes* as to think proper to fight them before he was re-inforced by near 40000 Men, which he had ordered to march from *Pleskou*. He believed thoſe Troops ſo neceſſary, that he went in perſon to haſten their March. Before his Departure he poſted a Detachment of 30000 Men at a League from *Narva*, in the way the King of *Sweden* was expected; more advanced in the ſame Rout 20000 *Strelitzs*

Czar's Meaſures to defeat him.

Strelitzs Soldiers of his Guards, who were reckoned the beſt Troops in his Service, and before them at a diſtance were placed 5000 Men by way of advanced Guard. Having made theſe Diſpoſitions he ſet out for *Pleskou*. 1700.

All the Poſts forced.

Before his Return all thoſe Paſſes were forced. The King of *Sweden* having received his Artillery, began his March, and having approached the Poſts of the *Muſcovites*, attack'd them one after another. The 26th of *November* he opened a way, Sword in hand, thro' their advanced Guard of 5000 Men: The 27th he attacked the 20000 *Strelitzs*, at the Poſt of *Puhajoggi*, and forced them: The 28th he made himſelf Maſter of the Poſt of *Sillameggi*, where the Detachment of 30000 Men were planted, who terrified with the Defeat of the *Strelitzs*, did not ſtay to be attacked, but retired without fighting to the main Body of the Army.

K. of *Sweden* attacks his Camp.

Charles, having defeated all thoſe Troops, arrived victorious in view of the *Muſcovite* Camp. The Rampart, and double Trench, with which it was fortified, did not ſtop him. Without giving his Troops the leaſt Reſpite, he gave orders for the Attack the 30th, and as ſoon as the Cannon had made a Breach in the Entrenchments, the *Swediſh* Army, commanded by experienced Generals, and encouraged by their Sovereign's Pre-

1700. And makes himself Master of it.

Preſence, fell on with undaunted Courage in two different Attacks, and with fixed Bayonets opened their way thro' Battalions that crouded to oppoſe them. For ſome time the *Muſcovites*, who had the Advantages of Number and Poſt, made a Fire that thinned the *Swediſh* Ranks. Their braveſt Officers fell in the ſight of their King, who was himſelf in the greateſt danger. When a Cannon-ſhot took off his Horſe's Head, he leaped intrepid upon another, and continued to charge and give Orders with the ſame Preſence of Mind; till the right Wing of the Enemy, unequal to the ſupport of ſo obſtinate an Attack, gave way, and took to flight. The King purſued them to the River *Narva* without Reſiſtance. The *Muſcovite* Generals endeavoured in vain to rally their diſmayed Soldiers, and were obliged to come themſelves, and lay down their Arms at the feet of the Victor. Night prevented the entire Defeat of the left Wing, which *Charles* propoſed to attack at break of Day next Morning. But at two of the Clock, General *Veda* who commanded, deſired Quarter for himſelf and his Troops; which the King granted. The Soldiers and Officers laid down their Arms at the King's Feet, marching uncovered thro' the Lines of the *Swediſh* Army. The loſs of the *Muſcovites* amounted to 18000 Men, and of the *Swedes* only to 2000, including the wounded. After

After this ſignal Victory *Charles* made his Entry into *Narva*, attended by the Duke of *Croy* and the other *Muſcovite* Generals, to whom he had ordered their Swords to be returned. He ſtay'd only two Hours in that Place, to give Thanks for his Succeſs. After which he returned to the Head of his Troops, to prepare them for new Laurels. The *Czar*, who advanced by long Marches againſt his Enemy, was appriz'd on his way of the Defeat of his Army. He had with him more than 40000 Men, in conſequence double the King of *Sweden*'s Number, but was not tempted by that Superiority to take his Revenge. He was afraid to encounter an Enemy, who with not 20000 Men had defeated above fourſcore thouſand, and returned directly; thinking it more politick to complain to Saint *Nicholas*, the Patron Saint of *Muſcovy*, that he had abandoned his People on this occaſion. 1700. *Czar's* Terror at his Approach.

Whilſt the King of *Sweden* drove the *Muſcovites* out of *Livonia*, the King of *Poland* heard at *Warſaw* the Propoſals of the Emperor and King of *France*, who ſollicited his Accommodation with *Sweden*, and had ſcarce any other Employment than to find Excuſes for not complying with their Deſire. His Intention was to keep upon the Reſerve, till the General Diet upon the point of aſſembling ſhould come to a Reſolution concerning the Rupture, or Peace with *Auguſtus* tries to excuſe his not making Peace

1700. with *Sweden*. *Auguſtus* was very deſirous the Republick ſhould engage in the Quarrel. Almoſt all the World were however agreed that a War was directly contrary to the true Intereſt of *Poland*, and that the want of Succeſs in it could not but have the moſt unhappy Conſequences. And indeed ſhould they have taken poſſeſſion of *Livonia*, in conjunction with the *Muſcovites*, what Apprehenſions might they not reaſonably have been under from the Neighbourhood of a warlike and enterprizing Prince, who, upon the leaſt Pretext, might break with his Allies, and become their Enemy? They did not obſerve however one Advantage to the Republick in this War, which was to employ the Nobility, and hinder them from deſtroying each other.

Intereſt of *Poland* in it.

Troubles of *Lithuania*.

Lithuania was again become a Scene of Blood, from the Differences between the Houſes of *Sapieha* and *Oginski*. Thoſe Families which had been reconciled by the King's Interpoſition, were embroiled anew. The *Oginskis*, five or ſix thouſand ſtrong, with the young Prince *Wiesnowiski* at their head, were the Aggreſſors. They fell upon Prince *Sapieha*'s Lands, and committed great Diſorders: The *Sapiehas*, without conſulting the Number of their Enemies, hearkened only to their Reſentment. They drew out 2000 Men from *Wilna*, and taking

taking with them ſome Pieces of Cannon, marched directly up to the Enemy, whom they attacked with fury. The Shock was violent and laſted long. The *Sapiehas* fought with ſuch Rage and Obſtinacy, that Victory more than once inclined to their Party: But the greater Number prevailed at laſt, and the *Sapiehas*, after having loſt great part of their People, were obliged to abandon their Cannon, and retire with Precipitation. The Slaughter was great; above a thouſand Men on each ſide were left upon the Place. 1700.

Barbarous Action of *Oginski*'s Party.

But what was yet worſe, this Combat was followed by a Scene which gave Horror to all honeſt Men. The Son of the Great General *Sapieha*, and *Wonnai* Staroſt of *Broſſau*, having ſurrendred themſelves Priſoners, upon condition their Perſons ſhould be ſafe, when they arrived at the Camp of the Victors, the Nobility exaſperated with the Loſſes they had occaſioned, received them with great Strokes of their Sabres, and cut them to pieces. A Barbarity without Example, and a Proof, that Fidelity to Promiſes and the other good Qualities of the Heart, do not always accompany Birth and Titles.

Divided Condition of *Poland*.

Such was the diſtracted Condition of *Poland* at the cloſe of the Year 1700. The King at War without the Republick's Participation: The Lords of the Kingdom, and

1700. and the Nobility in Arms contrary to the King's Will, and maſſacring each other without Mercy; the King expoſing his Perſon, and exhauſting his hereditary Dominions to conquer a Province for the Republick, who diſregarded that Conqueſt; and the principal Lords, inſtead of aſſiſting a Prince, who ſacrificed himſelf to the aggrandiſing of their Country, taking Pleaſure in ruining the fineſt of its Provinces. Unhappy Conſequences of divided Authority! So advantageous to the publick Welfare is the Agreement of its Head and Members, and ſo fatal are the Effects, when both the one and the other abuſe their Power in favour of their Ambition!



THE

THE HISTORY OF *POLAND* UNDER AUGUSTUS II.

BOOK IV.

IT was expected that the General Diet, ſo long ſollicited with ſo much earneſtneſs, would reinſtate Affairs, and eſpecially reſtore the Tranquillity of *Lithuania*. But thoſe falſe Hopes ſoon vaniſhed. From the firſt Meaſures 1701.

1701. ſures taken for the holding that Aſſembly, ſuch a number of Difficulties oppoſed it, as made it neceſſary to defer it till the Month of *September*.

The Diet deferred. A Council of Senators who met the 15th of *January*, came to a Reſolution ſo little expected. The Cardinal Primate having propoſed the Heads that were to be conſidered, it was found impoſſible to determine in regard to the greateſt Part of them. They only concluded, That the General Diet, which after being ſeveral times put off, was propoſed to be held in the Month of *March*, ſhould be further deferred till *September*, in order to facilitate the Means of holding it with Tranquillity: That the King ſhould uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to put an end to the Troubles of *Lithuania*: That he ſhould for that Reaſon reſide ſome time in the Dutchy, and march his *German* Troops thither to the Aſſiſtance of the Houſe of *Sapieha*: That in regard to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s Coronation, as King of *Pruſſia*, it ſhould be referred to the Examination of the firſt General Diet; which however ſhould not prevent the King from ſending to compliment the Elector upon his new Dignity; and that the Queen Dowager ſhould be permitted to continue ſome time at *Rome*, without prejudice to her Revenues and Penſions from the Republick.

Theſe

These Resolutions were the Occasion, that almost every thing was left undecided. The King however gained the Point he desired. He had two things principally in view, the Re-establishment of the *Sapiehas*, and the Continuance of the War in *Livonia*, which were both made easy in their execution; the one in his being permitted to march his *German* Troops into *Lithuania*, and the other in putting off the Diet, which might have opposed the War with *Sweden*. 1701. *Augustus* obtains his Desire.

Augustus did not defer taking the Advantage which offered. He had reason to expect the Conqueror of the *Muscovites* would directly fall upon his Troops, as the Season admitted the Armies to keep the Field. His Design was to reanimate the *Czar*, whom he believed discouraged by the ill Success of the Battle of *Narva*; but was prevented by that Prince, who exhorted him to make vigorous Resolutions, and desired to concert Measures with him to revenge the Check he had received. Intends to apply to the *Czar* who prevents him.

These two Monarchs had a common Enemy to oppose. The means they believed most expedient to the Success of their Undertakings, were to enter into new Engagements, and to ally themselves more firmly with each other. They agreed upon an Interview at *Birzen*, a small Town of *Lithuania*, which lasted fifteen Days. In the midst of Pleasures carried to excess, They have an Interview.

1701. the two Princes having almoſt an equal Inclination to them, *Auguſtus* preſented the *Czar* a Plan of the War they were to execute in concert. According to that Plan the *Czar*, in the Month of *June*, was to bring two hundred thouſand Men into the Field. The King of *Poland* was to ſupply him with fifty thouſand *German* Troops, to be hired from different Princes, who were to inſtruct the *Muſcovites* in military Diſcipline. The *Czar* on his part was to ſend fifty thouſand Men into *Poland*, to learn the Art of War, and engaged to pay three Millions of Rixdollars in two Years to the King of *Poland*, who agreed to keep up an Army of 28000 Foot, and 8000 Horſe. All theſe Troops were to act againſt the King of *Sweden* in *Livonia*, *Ingria*, and *Finland*.

Czar approves the Plan of the War.

Nothing could be imagined more fatal to *Sweden*, and perhaps to a great part of *Europe*, as it was the certain Method to diſcipline the *Muſcovites*. The *Czar* knew perfectly the Advantage of the Plan, and embraced it, propoſing to himſelf all the Conſequences it ſeemed to promiſe in his favour. Theſe Reſolutions taken, the two Monarchs went together to *Mittau*, and from thence to viſit the Forts of *Dunamunder*, *Orangeboom*, and *Kokenhauſen*, where the *Saxon* Army was poſted in the Neighbourhood of *Riga*, on the other ſide of the *Dwina*.

Dwina. After which they parted, with a Promiſe of ſupporting each other, and of not making a ſeparate Peace. The *Czar* ſet out for *Pleskow*, and the King of *Poland* for *Warſaw*. 1701.

Auguſtus on his Return to the Capitol, did not find it in the ſame Tranquillity in which it appeared at his Departure. He was far from having diſcharged the Sums he had promiſed to pay before and after his Coronation, for his Eſtabliſhment upon the Throne. It was conſidered, that if the Continuance of the War ſhould be reſolved, he might be ſo exhauſted as never to have it in his power to perform thoſe Engagements; which Grievance opened their Eyes, to others, that had not elſe been obſerved. They began to murmur again at the Continuance of the *Saxon* Troops upon the Lands of the Republick, contrary to the Laws of the Realm, and expreſſed an Apprehenſion of the King's intending to oppreſs their Liberty. To theſe Grievances they added the Delay of the General Diet. Diſcontent of the Court of *Poland*.

In the Provinces the Diſcontent was much greater, and they talked much higher than at Court. In a particular Diet held in *Great Poland*, it was reſolved to ſend Deputies to the King, and to make the following Demands: 1. That he would order the General Diet to be held in the Month of *May*. 2. To conclude a Peace with *Sweden*. And in the Provinces.

1701. 3. To put an end to the Troubles of *Lithuania.* 4. To dismiss the *Saxon* Troops. 5. To protest against the Royalty and Coronation of the Elector of *Brandenburgh.*

King's Address. Those Deputies had Audience the 20th of *March.* The King who perceived they expressed the Sense of the Republick in general, thought his Address necessary upon the occasion. He gave them a gracious Reception, and told them, that in all his Actions his sole View was the Glory of the Republick; that tho' the General Diet had been referred by the Senate to the Month of *September*, he would not fail to order its being held much sooner; that he had taken that Resolution before their Arrival; and that they should have an Answer to their Demands in writing.

Diet at *Warsaw.* The Diet was accordingly summoned for the 30th of *May*, and *Great Poland* seemed to be satisfied with the King's Compliance: But when it assembled, their Complaints began again, and the Division of the Nuncios appeared from the first sitting. Those of *Lithuania* refused to be present at the Mass of the Holy Ghost, and the Procession, because the Marshal *Sapieha* was present, bearing his Staff of Office. They did not absent themselves however from the Conferences, which were held for the Nomination of a Director of the Assembly, till a Marshal should be elected.

The

The Staff of Marſhal was depoſited with the Nuncio of *Poſnania*, which was the only thing reſolved upon without Debates. When it was propoſed to compliment the King in their Formalities according to Cuſtom, their Diſcontent broke out. They complained in the warmeſt manner of the *Saxon* Troops, and computed the Damages they had occaſioned at twenty Millions. Some of the Deputies went ſo far as to ſay, that Reparation ought to be demanded from the King, and that he ſhould be deſired to order his Troops not only to quit *Poland* and *Lithuania*, but alſo *Livonia* and *Courland*; and added that they would not proceed to any Buſineſs, if the King did not make the Republick Satisfaction. The more moderate ſaid, the King ought to be allowed time to conſider their Demands. It was reſolved at laſt by the majority, to ſend Deputies to the King, and to repreſent to him, that the Good of the Republick made it neceſſary that he ſhould diſmiſs his Troops, make Peace with *Sweden*, remove the *German* Miniſters from his Council, and put an end to the Diviſions of *Lithuania* in regard to the Houſe of *Sapieha*.

1701.

Its Complaints.

Auguſtus anſwered, that he had not undertaken the War but for the Republick's Advantage; that if it was judged contrary to its Intereſt to continue it, he was ready to diſmiſs his Troops, upon condition he

King's Anſwer to them.

1701. should be ſecured from any Attempts of the King of *Sweden*; and that he would join with the Nobility to pacify the Troubles of *Lithuania*. This was in ſome meaſure to comply with every thing. The greateſt part of the Nuncio's were however not ſatisfied with this Anſwer, and judged the King was leſs inclined to give them Satisfaction than to elude their Demands. But as they did not agree among themſelves, they reſolved that each of the three Provinces which form the Republick, ſhould deliberate apart, and report their ſeparate Reſolutions to the Diet. This Expedient had no better Succeſs. The Provincial Aſſemblies were as much divided as the General Aſſembly, ſo that the Impoſſibility of their Agreement obliged them to demand a new Diet. The Choice of the Time was a new occaſion for Debate. Some were for having it appointed for the 15th of *September*; others for a Term more remote; and both Parties obſtinate in their own Opinions They were compelled to refer the Deciſion to the King, upon condition the Aſſembly ſhould be ſummoned before the 1ſt of *January* 1702. They deſired alſo he would fix the time for the Departure of his Troops, interpoſe his Authority in appeaſing the Troubles of *Lithuania*, and remove General *Flemming* from the Office of Maſter of the Horſe of *Lithuania*, to beſtow

Does not ſatisfy the Nuncios.

beſtow that Poſt in favour of a *Lithuanian.* 1701.

The firſt Deputy of *Poſnania* was charged with this Commiſſion, having acted as Marſhal during this Diet. The King gave for anſwer, that he would ſummon another General Diet for the 22d of *December*, and diſmiſs his *German* Troops as ſoon as the Peace with *Sweden* ſhould be concluded. Upon which the Diet ſeparated without taking any Reſolution. It was not adjourned to the Month of *December*, but entirely diſſolved, in order to avoid the Complaints of thoſe who had been referred to this Aſſembly for Satisfaction. King's Promiſes to the Diet.

Whilſt *Auguſtus* was employed in anſwering the Complaints of the *Poles*, and in preventing their taking any violent Reſolutions, the King of *Sweden* was intent upon diſconcerting the Projects formed at the Interview of *Birzen.* The Conferences had been held in the Night, in order to render their Reſult more ſecret. But that Precaution had been in vain, the King of *Sweden* having had a Spy at *Birzen*, who had induſtriouſly inſinuated himſelf into the familiarity of the Secretaries of the *Poliſh* and *Ruſſian* Miniſters, from whom he got the Secret, which he loſt no time in communicating to the Prince he ſerved. The King of *Sweden* informed of the Projects againſt him.

The *Swedes* had paſſed the Winter about *Narva*, and the *Saxons* continued in their

1701. Lines along the *Dwina*, in the Neighbourhood of *Riga*. *Charles* XII knew thoſe Troops were to be augmented as ſoon as poſſible with 20000 *Coſſacks*, and as many *Muſcovites*, and reſolving to attack them before the Arrival of that Reinforcement, began his March at the head of 15000 Foot, and 5000 Horſe. He advanced to the *Dwina*, and undertook to paſs it in ſight of the *Saxons* poſted on the other ſide. From the 17th at night till the next Day, he employed in laying a Bridge from *Riga* to an Iſland ſituate in the middle of the River. Six Battalions paſſed it, and on the 18th at break of Day, embarked upon Boats of a new Invention, whoſe ſides being raiſed higher than ordinary, covered the Troops, and might be let down to form a Bridge in favour of their landing. Thoſe ſix Battalions came to the oppoſite Shore in a Moraſs, and the Barks ranged upon the right and left, to ſupport them with the Fire of their Cannon. What made their landing the eaſier, was a great number of Boats laden with Hemp and wet Straw, to which they ſet fire, and made a thick ſmoke, that being driven by the Wind, which favoured the *Swedes*, prevented the *Saxons* from ſeeing the Enemy, and by that means from oppoſing their Deſcent.

He paſſes the *Dwina*

And beats the *Saxon* Army. As the Foot landed, they drew up behind *Chevaux de Friſe*, which ſerved them for

for an Intrenchment. The *Saxons*, to the number of five Battalions and 10 Squadrons, advanced to the Attack with vigour enough, but whether the diſadvantage of the Ground, or the intrepid Countenances of the *Swedes* daunted them, they retired to a dry place flanked by a Moraſs and a Wood, where their Artillery was planted. *Charles*, encouraged by this firſt Succeſs, was not long without attacking them. He had beſides 15000 Men, and the Duke of *Courland* but twelve. The Duke omitted nothing to animate his Troops. He had two Horſes killed under him, and attacked the King of *Sweden*'s Guard three times; but being ſtruck off his Horſe by a Blow with the Cock of a Muſquet which a *Swede* gave him, his Army were terrify'd, and would fight no longer. The Soldiers endeavour'd to ſave themſelves by flight, and the Duke's Cuiraſſiers raiſed him with great difficulty, and had no leſs trouble to carry him off thro' the preſs. 1701.

That Prince began to rally his Troops at *Thompſdorp*, about five Miles above *Riga*. The *Swedes* who purſued him obliged him to fly towards *Kokenhauſen* where the main Body of the *Saxon* Army lay with 20000 *Muſcovites*, who were come to join them. They did not think themſelves ſafe there, but returned into *Lithuania* under the Cannon of *Birzen*, after having blown up the Fortifications of *Kokenhauſen*. And purſues it.

That

1701. That Defeat coſt the King of *Poland* about 2000 Men, without reckoning 1500 Priſoners, and a conſiderable Booty. It had been preceded ſome Days before by another Advantage gained by the *Swedes* over 6000 *Muſcovites*, 3000 of whom were left upon the place; and was followed with the loſs of *Mittau* the Capital of the Dutchy of *Courland*, and of all the Places the *Saxons* had ſeized with all their Magazines. They had nothing left but the Fort of *Dunamunder*, which held out to the End of the Year. The Envoys of the Emperor, the King of *Denmark* and the States General, offered their Maſters Mediation to accommodate the Difference between the Kings of *Poland* and *Sweden*; but the latter fluſhed with the Succeſs of his Arms reply'd, he could not give them Audience till the End of the Campaign. He had already formed the Deſign of dethroning his Enemy, which might have been conſidered amongſt Impoſſibilities, if the Event had not proved it otherwiſe.

Swedes Advantage over the *Muſcovites.*

Auguſtus's Concern. The News of the *Saxons* Defeat being carried to *Warſaw*, threw the Court into the utmoſt Conſternation. *Auguſtus* was the more ſtruck with it as he knew they were the flower of his Troops, who had ſuffered the *Swedes* to paſs the *Dwina*, and as he was ſo far from expecting their Defeat, that he flattered himſelf, his Army, reinforced by the

the *Muſcovites*, would be in a Condition to make no ſmall Progreſs in *Livonia*. 1701.

That Prince regretted his being unable to put himſelf at the Head of his Troops, which an Accident prevented. He had broke his Left Arm by a fall from his Horſe, in returning from Dinner at a Country-Houſe two Leagues from *Warſaw*.

His Enemies Joy.

But if the King was afflicted with the Defeat of his Troops, the Malecontents of the Kingdom; who were commonly called *The Republicans*, were overjoyed at it. They foreſaw that *Auguſtus* would be obliged at laſt to make his *German* Troops quit the Kingdom, for they did not imagine that *Poland* had any thing to apprehend from the *Swediſh* Arms. The Primate, if we may believe him ſincere at that time, was of the ſame Opinion, as he expreſs'd himſelf in a Letter to the King of *Sweden*, which he wrote the 27th of *July* by the Advice of the Senate. He told him the ſincere Friendſhip the *Poliſh* Nation always preſerved for its Neighbours, the Love of Juſtice, their Senſe of the Uncertainty of Events and the Faith of Treaties ſubſiſting between *Poland* and *Sweden*, had prevented their engaging in the preſent War: That it had appeared in the laſt General Diet, that the King of *Poland* entering into the Sentiments of thoſe who inclined to Peace, deſired nothing ſo much as the Concluſion of the War. That

Primate writes to the King of *Sweden*.

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1701. if Heaven nevertheleſs decreed otherwiſe, he conjured his *Swediſh* Majeſty in the Name and Senſe of the whole Republick, not to commit any Hoſtilities upon, and leaſt of all to invade the Frontiers of the Kingdom, or the Provinces in its dependance; that your Majeſty, added he, may preſerve the ſame Friendſhip for us, which the Republick has always retained inviolable for you.

Deputies ſent to that Prince. The Nobility of *Lithuania* ſent at the ſame time two Deputies to King *Charles*, with a Memorial almoſt in the ſame Terms. After having repreſented that the Republick was a Body diſtinct from the King; that it was in perfect Amity with the Crown of *Sweden*, and had never conſented to the Invaſion of *Livonia*, they deſired he would order his Troops to retire from the Towns and Frontiers of *Poland*. They aſſured him of their Religious Obſervance of the Treaty of *Oliva*, and that they ſhould have no part in any Meaſures that might give him cauſe of Offence.

The King of *Sweden* would not conſent that the whole Republick had maintained inviolably their Friendſhip with *Sweden*. Many Members of that great Body had favoured *Auguſtus*'s Enterpriſe upon *Livonia*, and Numbers of *Poles* had been ſeen in hi Army: Beſides *Charles* was not ignorant, that the Republick had ſuffered the Ice to be broke, with deſign to be of the Party if the Enterpriſe

Enterpriſe ſhould ſucceed. That Monarch nevertheleſs anſwer'd the Primate in a Stile which expreſs'd no Reſentment to the *Poles*. He declared himſelf ſatisfied with the Republick in reſpect to the War *Auguſtus* had made upon him, and profeſſed his having it much at heart to ſupport a good Correſpondence with them: He added, that his Continuance in *Courland* ought not to give them any Umbrage, and that as Duke *Ferdinand* had publickly taken part in the War, he could do no leſs than uſe the Right it gave him againſt a declared Enemy. He concluded with ſaying, "I am not ignorant of the Misfortunes of the Republick, nor the Oppreſſions they ſuffer from the *Saxon* Troops, nor the Violation of their Liberties by King *Auguſtus*, who thereby renders himſelf unworthy the Throne he poſſeſſes; for which Reaſons I am ready to aſſiſt the Republick with all my Power in the Defence of its Laws and Liberty." 1701. His Anſwer to the Primate.

Two things hindered this Letter from the Effect the King of *Sweden* propoſed. The Offer he made of delivering *Poland* from Oppreſſion, alarmed a Nation not apt to approve their Neighbours intermeddling with their Affairs. The Idea of an Army of Foreigners ready to enter the Kingdom, rouſed their Attention and forced them to think of warding the Blow, by putting it into Obſtacles he meets with.

1701. into *Augustus*'s Power to resist an Enemy who was so bold to undertake to dethrone Him. But what determined them, and changed their Discontent into Confidence and Tenderness, was the Step *Augustus* took in dismissing the *Saxon* Army. The Removal of the foreign Troops, leaving from thenceforth no room for Complaint, dispelled the Umbrage which had been taken, and all People express'd as much Zeal for the Defence of his Person and Dignity, as Disposition before to abandon him. The Primate himself, tho' of Intelligence with *Charles* for dethroning *Augustus*, sent circular Letters into the *Palatinates*, wherein he represented, that the bad Success of the King's Arms nearly affected the Republick, which ought, says he, to be as much united with him as the Head with the other Members of the Human Body. He enlarged upon the Methods that had been taken to reconcile the two Kings at War, and to engage the King of *Sweden* to spare the Frontiers, and maintain a good Correspondence with the Republick. He observed, that as *Augustus* had withdrawn his Army not only from *Courland* but *Lithuania*, it was the Duty of the Republick to provide for the Safety of his Person, who was then destitute of Troops. The present danger, continued he, is not at the Door but in the House, and Means must be found to deliver

Augustus dismisses his *Saxon* Troops.

Primate's circular Letters.

us

us from it immediately without the loſs of time in long Deliberations. 1701.

The King wrote circular Letters at the ſame time, in which he ſignified to the Nobility, that in compliance with the Republick, he had ſent back his Troops to *Saxony*: That by ſo doing he found himſelf void of all Defence, and expoſed to all the Conqueror ſhould think fit to undertake; and that the Republick, having itſelf but a ſmall Number of Troops, was in the ſame Danger with himſelf. Upon this News, the *Palatinates* of *Cracow*, *Lublin* and *Sendomir*, aſſured him by their Deputies, that they were reſolved to ſupport him with their Lives and Fortunes. The *Palatinate* of *Cujavia* further applied to the Primate, deſiring him to write to the King of *Sweden*; That as the Republick had not made it their Requeſt that he would take any part in their Affairs upon him, they hoped he would not attempt any Thing in prejudice of the Fidelity due to their Sovereign. The other *Palatinates* of *Poland* declared all ſuch Enemies to their Country, who did not employ their utmoſt Power in Conſervation of the Honour, Reputation and Perſon of the King. As to the *Lithuanians* they were ſilent, their Diviſions continuing as great as ever.

The King's Letters to the Nobility.

Application to the Primate.

The *Czar* till then had not been in haſte to execute the Plan concerted with *Auguſtus* at

Czar's Ardor abates.

1701. at the Interview of *Birzen*. The bad Fortune of the *Saxon* Army had abated his Ardor to revenge his Loſs at the Battle of *Narva*; beſides which he ſaw *Auguſtus* was not in a Condition to aſſiſt him with the 50000 Men that were to be raiſed in the Empire. He contented himſelf with ſending 20000 *Muſcovites* into *Livonia*, who ſometimes came to Blows with the *Swedes*, but almoſt always with loſs, and at laſt retired into their own Country.

Poles Promiſes to the King.

Auguſtus had no Aſſiſtance to expect but from the *Poles*, yet he ſeemed to have reaſon to rely upon them. Every Day new Deputies from particular Diets aſſured him that the Nobility would take his Defence upon Themſelves. The Senate came to a Reſolution to declare War upon *Charles*, if he perſiſted to purſue his Conqueſts; and after the Senate had taken that Step, the artful Primate could not avoid writing to the King of *Sweden*, as he had been call'd upon to do by the *Palatinate* of *Cujavia*. The Stile of this Letter was pathetick, its Expreſſions inſinuating and ſeeming to flow from a Spirit of Concord and Juſtice; Snares into which the Mind of Man naturally falls, when unaware of their Motives who make uſe of them.

Primate's Letter to the King.

Charles, who knew the Cardinal's real Intentions, was not at a loſs for Behaviour. Far from being prevail'd upon by the Primate's

mate's Exhortations to uſe his Fortune with Moderation, his Anſwer diſcover'd, he was more ſenſible to the Glory of his Revenge, than to that of conquering his Reſentment. 1701.

That Prince's Anſwer.

He declared he ſhould preſerve the ancient Amity and good Intelligence with the Republick, provided they did not interfere in the unjuſt War the King of *Poland* had made upon him; that it was as juſt as neceſſary to the common Intereſt, to remove a King from the Government who had infringed the Privileges of the *Poliſh* Nation, and to give him a Succeſſor, in whom they might have more reaſon to confide, and who might not be ſo dangerous a Neighbour.

Various Effects of it.

This Letter had not a like Effect with every Body. If it piqued a great Number of *Poles* in point of Honour, and engaged them to reſolve upon the Defence and Preſervation of their Sovereign's Dignity; ſome it intimidated, who apprehended the Entrance of a victorious Army upon the Lands of the Republick, and others it encouraged, who till then had been contented to cabal in Secret. Theſe laſt took off the Mask now, and began to declare publickly for Liberty and Juſtice, tho' it was ſcarce known what they meant by thoſe Expreſſions.

Diſorders in *Lithuania*.

The Diviſion and Diſorders were ſtill greater in *Lithuania*. As long as the *Sapiehas* ſaw the King in a Condition to ſup-

1701. port them, they adhered to that Prince; but when they understood he had dismissed his Troops, and they had no farther Assistance to expect from him, they had recourse to the King of *Sweden*, and entered into Engagements to favour his Designs. But at the same time *Oginski* and his Party by a Conduct very extraordinary, went over to *Augustus*, engaged themselves to serve him, and promised to support his Interest at the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes.

The King of *Sweden* had ordered some Companies of Dragoons to march to the Relief of the *Sapiehas*, who posted them to guard the Pass of *Kroting*. Those Troops were in all but two hundred Men. *Oginski* immediately marched at the Head of 2000 to attack them. Notwithstanding the Superiority of Number he was repuls'd with loss; and there began the Rupture between the *Lithuanians* and the *Swedes*. King *Charles*, who till then had ordered his Troops to commit no Violences, sent a new Detachment of 2500 Men into *Lithuania*, under the Command of Colonel *Humeregrer* a *Scot*, with Orders to shew no favour, and to attack *Oginski* wherever he could meet with him. Soon after he followed that Detachment in Person at the Head of his Horse-guard and 2000 Grenadiers.

Oginski repulsed with loss.

Oginski was posted near *Pilzen* with 14000 Men. Whilst the King of *Sweden* was

was upon his March towards him, he had detached 4000 Men with Orders to ruin the Lands of the Chancellor *Radzivil*, who had taken Party with the *Sapiehas*. The King of *Sweden* took that Opportunity to attack him. At his approach *Oginski* drew up in Battle and ſtood the firſt Shock with great Reſolution: But upon the King's appearing at the Head of 500 Grenadiers, the *Lithuanian* Horſe, who could not ſupport their Fire, took to their Heels and diſputed the Victory no longer. *Charles* after that made no ſcruple to quarter his Troops in *Lithuania* and the Province of *Samogitia*, and publiſhed a Declaration importing, he would not ceaſe to purſue *Oginski* and his Party till the *Sapiehas* had Juſtice done them. 1701.

And is defeated again.

The *Swedes* about the ſame time had another Advantage. King *Charles* had no deſign to beſiege the Fort of *Dunamunder* in form, but was contented to block it up and throw ſome Bombs into it. Colonel *Canitz*, who commanded the Fort, finding himſelf reduced to Extremity without Ammunition or the hope of Relief, and with only fifty four Men capable of Service, deſired to capitulate, and ſent Count *Dahlberg* a Scheme of the Conditions upon which he offered to ſurrender. Thoſe Conditions were immediately diſpatch'd to the King, tho' it was not believed he would agree to

Dunamunder Fort ſurrenders to the *Swedes*.

1701. them, and that he would resolve to have the Place at Discretion; but that Opinion was a Mistake. *Charles* admired the Governor's Fidelity, praised his Courage, and as a Mark of his Esteem granted him as honourable a Capitulation as he could desire. It was signed the 21st after a Blockade of four Months, and the Garrison marched out the next Day.

General Diet at *Warsaw.*

The same Day the Fort of *Dunamunder* surrendered, the General Diet opened at *Warsaw*. The Staff of Marshal of the Diet was presented provisionally to the Nuncio of *Siradia*, who accepted it. But when the Election of Marshal was proposed, three of the Deputies said, their Instructions were not to consent to it before the Troubles of *Lithuania* should be composed. The Nuncios of the Dutchy warmly opposed that Demand, and *Zaradeck* Standard-bearer of the Province of *Samogitia*, read a passage in his Instructions, which gave no small trouble to the Diet. It was thereby expressly directed, that the Nuncios of that Province should consent to an Accommodation with the House of *Sapieha*, upon penalty of their Honour and Estates; that they should proceed immediately to the Election of the Marshal, that Sentence should pass upon the *Sapiehas*, and that they should be declared Infamous and Enemies of their Country.

Zembec

Zembec, Referendary of the Crown, being permitted to ſpeak on the 23d, adviſed the Diet to try gentle Means for compoſing the Diviſions of *Lithuania*, and that Deputies ſhould afterwards be ſent to the King of *Sweden*, to demand that he would retire from the Republick. Three Deputies of *Little Poland* ſupported this Propoſal with their Voices. *Zaradeek* ſtrongly oppoſed it and repeated what he had ſaid the Day before. The Nuncios of *Podlachia* reply'd, that the Princes of the Houſe of *Sapieha* could not be treated as Enemies to their Country nor declared Infamous, as they were not convicted of any Crime. A Nuncio of *Czerſſa* repreſented, that the Titles of Infamous and Enemies of their Country were more applicable to the Republicans of *Lithuania*, who were for acknowledging the King as abſolute Maſter: To which Recrimination the *Lithuanians* did not think fit to reply. One of them on the contrary proteſted, that all *Lithuania* were not averſe to an Accommodation with the Houſe of *Sapieha*, and that a great Number of the Nobility deſired nothing more paſſionately, than that equitable Means might be found to appeaſe their Differences. Upon the Repreſentation of *Humieniski*, Nuncio of *Ruſſia*, the Proviſional Marſhal was directed to demand of the King, whether he ſincerely deſired, that the Differences

1701. Propoſal made.

1701. rences of *Lithuania* ſhould be accommodated.

Other Propoſals. The King's Anſwer was expected the third Sitting: But they were told by the Marſhal, that he could not venture to make any ſuch Propoſal to his Majeſty, as the Diet had not been unanimous in their Reſolution. Upon which three Nuncios of *Mazovia* propoſed, that the Marſhal ſhould be directed to make the following Demands to the King. 1. Whether he knew any Means for compoſing the Troubles of *Lithuania*? 2. To degrade thoſe who had adviſed the War in *Livonia*. 3. To ſend home the reſt of the *Saxon* Troops, who continued in the Province of *Mazovia*. All the Deputies agreed to theſe Propoſals, and the Aſſembly adjourned till after the Holidays.

Proviſional Marſhal's Report. The 29th the Proviſional Marſhal reported his Commiſſion. He ſaid, the King had given him for Anſwer. 1. That he had done every Thing that depended on him, towards compoſing the Troubles of *Lithuania*, but that his good Intent had not been attended with the Effect he could have wiſhed, and deſired the Republick would conſult ſuch Means as ſhould be more conducive to the End propoſed. 2. That he did not know there were any *German* Troops in *Mazovia*, and that if there were, he would give Orders for them to remove. 3. That he had declared already his Motives for undertaking

ing the War in *Livonia*, which was in discharge of the *Pacta Conventa*, by which he was obliged to reunite the Provinces to the Crown, that had been wreſted from it. Several Debates enſued that Day. It had been propoſed, that the whole Aſſembly ſhould attend the King, to beg he would apply himſelf effectually to remedy the Diviſions of *Lithuania*, and the Diet could not agree upon that Point. 1701.

The 30th it was agreed, that the Marſhal ſhould attend the King, and intreat him to order the Treaties to be again ſet on Foot, that had begun in regard to the *Lithuanian* Affairs, and to fix a Time and Place for the Deputies of the Diet and thoſe of the Senate to meet. The King gave them his Anſwer the next Day, which was, that upon the Repreſentation of the Nobility he would order thoſe Treaties to be again ſet on foot, and nominated the Senators preſent for Commiſſioners. Upon which the King was farther deſired, that thoſe Treaties might be concluded in three Days. Order given him.

As ſoon as the Conferences begun, the Senators Commiſſioners made a great many Difficulties. Among other Things they could not conſent to the General Amneſty, to which the Houſe of *Sapieha* refuſed to agree. They inſiſted ſtrongly upon the Puniſhment of thoſe who had killed the Young Prince *Sapieha*, Great Maſter of the Horſe 1702.

1702. of *Lithuania*, and the *Lithuanians* on the contrary pretended, that as they had consented to an Accommodation, the House of *Sapieha* ought not to oppose a General Oblivion of all that had past. In fine after some Debates, it was agreed the 16th of *January*,

Re-establishment of the House of *Sapieha*.

" That the House of *Sapieha* should be " re-established in all its Fortunes, Honours, Offices and Prerogatives, enjoyed " by it in Times past: That all Hostilities, " Injuries and Damages, done by either " Party during the Troubles, should be for- " gotten, and (*a*) pardon'd by the General " Amnesty, which had been granted: That " the Dispute between the Houses of *Sapieha* " and *Radzivil*, in respect to the Guardian- " ship of the Princess of *Newburgh*, should " be referred to the Arbitration of some Per- " sons of Authority.

This Accommodation was signed the 17th by the two Parties. After which they went to the Great Church, where the *Te Deum* was sung with the Service of Thanksgiving. The General Diet then resumed its Deliberations; to conclude upon an Embassy to be sent to the King of *Sweden*; to elect a Marshal, and to consider the several Points that concerned the present State

(*a*) A certain Canon, named *Beozoo*, was excepted from the Pardon, and was to be tryed as a Ringleader in the Murder of the young Prince *Sapieha*.

State of the Nation. But the Nuncios were divided amongſt themſelves, and the Diet, obſerving it impoſſible to come to any Reſolutions, broke up tumultuouſly the 7th of *February*. 1702. Diet breaks up tumultuouſly.

To ſupply the want of the General Diet's Reſolutions, *Auguſtus* called a Great Council. The Points he propoſed to their Conſideration, explained the Difficulties he was under. He asked, What Means were to be uſed for driving the *Swedes* out of *Lithuania?* Whether the Senate could not find a more ſuitable Remedy than the Embaſſy propoſed to be ſent to the King of *Sweden?* In caſe that Embaſſy took place, what Perſons ſhould be charged with it? What the Subſtance of it ſhould be, and how the Sums neceſſary for the Expence ſhould be raiſed? What Anſwer was to be given the *Muſcovite* Ambaſſador who deſired Audience, and whether an Embaſſy ſhould be ſent to the *Czar?* What Methods were to be taken for the ſafety of the King and Republick, in caſe the *Swedes* ſhould advance further into the Kingdom? To what new Means recourſe was to be had to ſupply the Expences of the Artillery, Ammunition, and Army? A Great Council aſſembled.

The Conſideration of theſe Articles employed the Council, when the King ſent the Palatine of *Marienburgh* to make two further Propoſals. Firſt, he offered to pay out of The King's Propoſals.

1702. of his own Coffers, two Quarters Arrears to the Crown-Army, upon condition it would aſſiſt him againſt the King of *Sweden.* Secondly, he demanded Permiſſion to recal 12000 *Saxons* into the Kingdom, to join that Army. The Primate's Anſwer, in the Name of the Aſſembly, gave ſufficient reaſon to believe him of Intelligence with the King of *Sweden.* He ſaid in regard to the firſt Point, it would be an unneceſſary Expence, as the Army would not engage in that War without the Conſent of the Republick. For the ſecond, his Anſwer was, that he would not adviſe the King to order the Return of his *Saxon* Troops, as it would be a certain Means to excite new Troubles in the Kingdom.

Reſolutions of that Aſſembly.

The Great Council did not omit the Deciſion of ſeveral Points; among others that the Poſpolite ſhould mount on horſeback, that the Republick might be in a Condition of Defence in caſe of neceſſity; that the King ſhould apply to the Powers, Guarantees of the Treaty of *Oliva*, to uſe their Offices for the ſupport of that Treaty; that he ſhould give Audience to the *Muſcovite* Ambaſſador; That he ſhould not appoint a Miniſter to reſide at the *Czar*'s Court, but by the Conſent of the approaching Diet; and that the Embaſſy propoſed ſhould be ſent to the King of *Sweden.*

Auguſtus,

Auguſtus, under the neceſſity of referring himſelf to the Diſcretion of the Senate, endeavoured at leaſt to ſupport the Dignity of the Crown. He ſent *Von Sacken*, one of his Chamberlains, into *Lithuania*, to notify to King *Charles*, that the Embaſſy of the Republick was preparing to ſet out, and to deſire to know in what Place he would pleaſe to receive, and give it Audience. But as the Chamberlain had not had the Precaution to take the Primate's Paſſport, he was laid under an Arreſt, as coming from an Enemy Prince. 1702. *Auguſtus* ſends one of his Chamberlains to the King of *Sweden*.

The Embaſſy ſet out, and was compoſed of five Senators, the *Waivode Galeski*, Count *Tarlo*, the two *Kriſpins*, and *Oginski*. They met the King of *Sweden* at *Dlagowietz*, ſome Miles on this ſide *Grodno*; for *Charles*, having left Garriſons in ſome Places of the Dutchy of *Lithuania*, had began his March towards *Poland*. That Prince gave Audience to the Ambaſſadors in his Tent. In their Diſcourſe to him the Ambaſſadors deſired he would not break the Treaty with the Republick, ſpare the Country, and permit them to treat with his Miniſters. Count *Piper* anſwered in the Name of his Maſter, that their Propoſals were agreeable; that *Charles* had not taken Arms but in the Defence of his Dominions againſt the Invaſion of an Enemy; that his Conduct was founded in the Right of Nature and Nations; that he Republick's Embaſſy to that Prince

1702. he was at the ſame time going to employ his Arms for the Repoſe and Safety of the Republick, and aſſured himſelf that all good *Poles* would act in concert with him.

Charles promiſed further to appoint Commiſſioners to treat with them, and named a Place for the holding thoſe Conferences; but whether he believed it improper to delay his March, or did not find the Republick ſufficiently inclined to enter into his Meaſures, he ordered them to be told, the Conferences ſhould be held at *Warſaw*, and immediately began his March towards that Capital. Upon his way he publiſhed a Manifeſto, in which he declared he would not quit the Kingdom, till the King of *Poland*, his and the Republick's Enemy, was returned to *Saxony*, and till his Succeſſor was elected. He invited the *Poles* to join with him, and endeavoured to prove, that his and their Intereſt was the ſame.

Who advances to *Warſaw*.

After this publick Declaration he continued his March towards *Warſaw*, at the head of 10000 Men. The King had left it four Days before the Approach of the *Swediſh* Army. He ſet out the 16th of *May*, and withdrew to *Cracow*; whither the Pope's Nuncio, the imperial Miniſters, and thoſe of the *Czar* followed him. A ſmall number of Senators went alſo thither. Before his departure he had held a Council with them, in which it had been reſolved, that

Auguſtus retires to *Cracow*.

that the Crown-Army ſhould take the Field; 1702.
that it ſhould aſſemble the 26th of the inſtant Month of *May* near *Leopold*, and that the King might there join it with the 6000 *Saxons*, allowed him for his Guard by the *Pacta Conventa*; but it was inſiſted upon that they ſhould be commanded by the Crown General, and that they ſhould quit the Kingdom as ſoon as a Peace ſhould be concluded; That *Auguſtus* ſhould publiſh the Univerſalia for the aſſembling the Provincial Diets, in order to their ſupplying the Succours neceſſary in the preſent State of Affairs: That the King and Primate ſhould deſire the Powers, Guarantees of the Treaty of *Oliva*, and principally the Emperor, to interpoſe his good Offices for the concluding a Peace with the King of *Sweden*; and that they ſhould agree to grant the Title of King of *Pruſſia* to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, which had been hitherto conteſted.

He ſummons the Poſpolite.

Auguſtus, before his leaving *Warſaw*, publiſhed his Univerſalia for aſſembling the Poſpolite for the 22d of the Month, and ſent Orders into *Saxony* for four Regiments of Foot, each of 1800 Men, and four Regiments of Horſe of 1200 each, to march immediately to the Frontiers of *Sileſia*. But before thoſe Troops could poſſibly aſſemble, the King of *Sweden* was at the Gates of the Capital. The 23d he paſſed the *Viſtula*, and

1702. and went incognito to *Warsaw* to see the City; after which he returned to *Prague*, where the greatest part of his Army arrived the next Day. The 25th a Detachment passed the River, presented themselves before *Warsaw*, and summoned the Burghers to surrender the Place. The Commandant at first made some difficulty for form sake, but soon opened the Gates, and received the *Swedes*, who took the Posts every where. The few *Polish* Troops in the Citadel marched out, and were escorted to some distance upon their way.

Warsaw opens its Gates to the *Swedes*.

The Primate writes to the K. of *Sweden*.

The Primate, who retired from *Warsaw* before *Augustus* left it, could not in decency avoid writing to King *Charles*, in regard to his having entered the Kingdom. That Prince returned an immediate Answer, and desired him to come to *Warsaw*, to confer with him upon the most convenient Measures for the re-establishment of the publick Tranquillity. The Primate, who would not yet take off the Mask, behaved much in the same manner as the Governor of *Warsaw* had done. He affected great difficulty in complying with *Charles*'s Demand, and pretended that Prince must first grant him certain preliminary Circumstances; but consented at last to what he desired.

His Excuse.

He had occasion for some Pretext to excuse this Behaviour, and was not at much pain to find it. He had recourse to Perfidy.

He

He ſaw *Auguſtus* was reduced to ſuch Extremities as to accept all Propoſals, that gave him the leaſt Proſpect of an Accommodation. He went to wait on him, and inſinuated that *Charles* was not averſe to a reaſonable Agreement. *Auguſtus*, who, as it was rumoured, had already gone ſo far as to ask Peace by the * Counteſs of *Coningsmark*, whom he had charged with a ſecret Commiſſion to the *Swediſh* Monarch, was far from rejecting ſuch a Propoſal. He conſented that the Primate ſhould go to *Warſaw*, with the Count *Leczinski*, Great Treaſurer of the Crown, who had approved the Scheme for dethroning him. 1702.

His Interview with the King of *Sweden*.

Their Interview was at *Prague* with no great Ceremony, in a Chamber not ſo much as hung with Tapeſtry, and in the Preſence of the Duke of *Holſtein Charles*'s Brother-in-law, Count *Piper* his firſt Miniſter, and ſeveral of his General Officers. The King advanced three Steps to receive the Primate, who made him a Compliment in *Latin*, to which Count *Piper* replied in *French*. After which the Conference began and laſted a quarter of an hour. They had others for ſeveral Days ſucceſſively. The dethroning

* It was ſaid that Counteſs, as much celebrated for Wit as Beauty, had been at the *Swediſh* Camp, to open a ſecret Treaty of Peace, but that the King of *Sweden* would not ſo much as ſee her.

Auguſtus

1702. *Augustus* was their principal Subject; and the King of *Sweden* declared that he would not quit *Poland* till he had driven *Augustus* entirely out of it, and given the *Poles* another King. The Primate, who saw this Declaration tended to the Completion of his Project, communicated it immediately to the *Palatinates*. He affected an extreme concern upon the occasion, but at the same time observed the Impossibility of disputing the Victor's Pleasure.

Dethronement of *Augustus* considered

Obstacles to the K. of *Sweden*.

The Affairs of *Augustus* however were not so entirely desperate, and *Charles* had still a great deal of Business upon his hands, before he could assure himself of carrying things as he thought fit. It was necessary first to disperse the *Saxon* Army, which was come to its Master's Relief, and to reduce the *Palatinates* of *Cracow*, *Siradia*, *Sendomir*, *Wolhinia*, and *Great Poland*, who had declared for *Augustus*, and were far from approving an Enterprize, of which they had hitherto not so much as heard the least mention. For this Reason only the Success of a Battle could give the Superiority to the King of *Sweden*, or keep *Augustus* upon the Throne. The latter was so fully persuaded of this, that he sent Expresses perpetually to hasten the March of his *Saxon* Troops. As fast as they arrived he reviewed them in Person, recommending his Interests to them at the same time. He also

Augustus hastens the March of his Troops.

alſo publiſhed his Univerſalia, in which he ordered the whole Nobility to mount on horſeback, and to join him upon pain of Confiſcation of Fortune. He gave the ſame Command to the Crown-Army, and offered to pay them directly half a Year's Arrears. 1702.

The Nobility of the Palatinate of *Cracow* came in throngs to offer him their Service, and promiſed to ſhed the laſt Drop of their Blood to ſupport him upon the Throne. The Crown-Army, or at leaſt a Body of Troops under that Name, obeyed his Orders, and the *Saxon* Troops, who had marched with the utmoſt Diligence, were already arrived. They formed all together an Army of 22000 Men. Encouraged by this force, *Auguſtus* began his March in queſt of the Enemy, whoſe Army he knew was not half ſo ſtrong as his own. The two Kings met at *Cliſſow* the 19th of *July*. General *Flemming* was advanced with a Detachment of 3000 Men, to obſerve the Enemy's Motions, and preſently came up with their advanced Guard. He ſent immediately to inform the King of *Poland*, who ordered him to halt, and not begin the Battle till the whole Army had joined him. And marches in queſt of the Enemy

The King of *Sweden* began the Attack. He made his left Wing advance for the Advantage of flanking the Right of *Auguſtus*'s Army, compoſed of *Poliſh* Troops, and Who attacks him firſt.

1702. covered in front by a Moraſs. *Charles*, at the head of his Guards, ſprung forwards into the midſt of the *Poliſh* Squadrons, who unable to ſtand the Shock, were forced to give way, and fell in among the *Saxon* Troops, whom they put into diſorder. At the ſame time the left Wing, compoſed of the *Saxon* Troops, had attacked the Right of the *Swedes*, which received their firſt Fire without moving from their Ground. *Charles*, who already aſſured himſelf of Victory, flew to the Relief of his Troops. His Preſence redoubled their Courage, and they drove upon the *Saxons* with ſuch fury as made them give way. *Auguſtus* did all that could be expected from a Prince who fought for his Crown. He rallied his Troops ſeveral times, and charged at the head of them in Perſon, but was ſtill repulſed with loſs. He had 3500 Men killed or wounded, and loſt forty two Pieces of Cannon, with all his Baggage. The *Swedes* had only about 1200 Men killed or wounded. The Duke of *Holſtein Gottorp*, Brother-in-law to the King of *Sweden*, was amongſt the dead, his Back having been broke in the beginning of the Battle by a Cannon-ſhot.

His Troops beaten.

The Victor intent upon making the moſt of his Succeſs, marched directly to *Cracow*, in purſuit of King *Auguſtus*, who was retired thither, and quitted that City when he

He is obliged to quit *Cracow*.

he was apprized of the *Swedes* approach. 1702.
On the 11th of *Auguſt* the Burghers were ſummoned to ſurrender, and in caſe of Refuſal were threatened with the Cannon. The Magiſtrates did not think proper to wait the Execution, but opened their Gates, and received a numerous Garriſon. The Commandant of the Citadel was a little more difficult, and was forced at laſt to ſurrender himſelf Priſoner of War. After which the Contribution was ſettled. The *Swedes* demanded 60000 Crowns which the City engaged to pay them. An Accident prevented *Charles*'s further Purſuit of the *Saxons*. His Horſe fell under him, and bruiſed his Thigh in ſuch a manner as kept him ſix Weeks in bed.

The King of *Poland* took the Advantage of this Suſpence to aſſemble a Diet at *Sendomir*; whither he went at the head of the Troops, who had fought at *Cliſſow*, and who had been reinforced with 8000 Men, newly arrived from *Saxony*. A great part of the Arrierban of *Little Poland* were encamped there. The Aſſembly proteſted againſt the Dethronement, and ſent Deputies to the *Palatinates* of *Great Poland*, to deſire their Concurrence with the Reſolutions that ſhould be taken. After Deliberations ſufficiently long, it was reſolved that Deputies ſhould be ſent to the King of *Sweden*, with full Powers to conclude a Peace, and renew the

Diet of *Sendomir*.

Reſolutions taken in it.

1702. Treaty of *Oliva*. That the Crown-Army ſhould be augmented to the ſame number of Troops as in the Year 1690; That the Nobility ſhould be diſpenſed with from mounting on horſeback, by furniſhing a certain number of Men and Arms; and that if the Accommodation could not be agreed, *Auguſtus* ſhould deſire the Aſſiſtance of the neighbouring Princes: And to conclude, they all ſwore to employ their utmoſt Power and Fortune, their Blood and Lives, in defence of the Roman Catholick Faith, the Intereſt of King *Auguſtus*, the Maintenance of their Liberties and Privileges, and the Conſervation of the Republick in all reſpects. They declared *Charles* XII. an Enemy to the State, and all ſuch who perſiſted in his Party, or lent him any Aſſiſtance.

Troubles in the Kingdom.

But what was unfortunate for *Auguſtus*, was the Kingdom's not being unanimous in thoſe favourable Sentiments for him. Diſorder and Confuſion increaſed daily, particularly in *Great Poland*, where the Nobility had been ſeveral times upon the point of coming to Blows with each other. Some demanded, that ſuch a Confederacy as that of *Sendomir* ſhould be entered into, in favour of the King of *Sweden:* Others would have it for the Liberty of the Republick, and ſome refuſed to declare for either Party. The King of *Poland* was afraid, that *Charles* obſerv-

obſerving the Diverſity of Sentiments and Reſolutions, might take occaſion to object, that the Embaſſy, which was to be ſent him from the Republick, was not unanimouſly appointed, or ſufficiently authoriſed; and refuſe to treat upon that Pretext: He therefore determined to appoint a new Aſſembly of the Senators, which was ſummoned for the 22d of *September*, and was to be held at *Warſaw*. The Cardinal Primate who came there the 15th of the ſame Month had Audience the next Day of that Prince. He ſtill affected a firm Adherence to the Intereſts of *Auguſtus*, who conſented that he ſhould ſend an Expreſs to King *Charles* with Propoſals of Peace. 1702.

Primate's Letter to the K. of *Sweden*.

The Primate in his Letter to *Charles* recalls to mind the Hope he had given him at their Interview, of hearkening to an Accommodation. He went on to obſerve, that he had no reaſon to complain of the want of a ſufficient Satisfaction, that Fortune had been to the full as favourable to him as he could deſire; that it was time at leaſt, (not to ſay juſt) that Peace ſhould return from exile to ſucceed the Miſeries of War; that the Republick, weary of ſo melancholy a Scene, of which it was the horrid Theatre, ſent him a ſecond Deputation with full Powers to treat; That as this great Affair principally concerned the King of *Poland*, he thought it his Duty to inform his *Swe-*

1702. *diſh* Majeſty, that Prince had alſo appointed a Perſon to act for him in negotiating an happy Concluſion of it. Having then the Honour, continued he, of ſerving two great Kings on ſo delicate an occaſion, your Majeſty may be convinced I ſhall continue to act with like Zeal for Princes already inſeparably united by the Ties of Blood. The Primate wrote alſo to Count *Piper*, who leſs intereſted than the Prelate in diſſembling his true Sentiments, and thoſe of the King his Maſter, made the Underſtanding between them ſufficiently evident.

Reſolutions of the Great Council at *Warſaw*

The Great Council however, ſummoned by the King of *Poland*, was held at *Warſaw*. The Aſſembly was almoſt entirely compoſed of *Lithuanians*. The Primate excuſed himſelf from being preſent at it. They approved all that had been done in the Diet of *Sendomir*, and came to a Reſolution to diſpatch the Embaſſy to the King of *Sweden*. The Ambaſſadors were directed to acquaint that Prince, they were authoriſed by the whole Republick, and to demand an Audience in form, and a definitive Anſwer in regard to the Propoſals of Peace. The Aſſembly broke up the 28th, and the Ambaſſadors who had received their Inſtructions, and taken an Oath that they would not be corrupted, ſet out on their way to the King of *Sweden*.

That

That Prince was ſtill at *Cracow*. The Ambaſſadors upon their Arrival near the City, ſtopped upon the Eſtate of the Waywode of *Mazovia*, and ſent *Towrianski* their Secretary, to know when he would be pleaſed to give them Audience. The Letter was wrote by the Palatine of *Mazovia*, chief of the Embaſſy. *Charles* immediately returned an Anſwer not in the leaſt expected. He declared, that as he did not think it juſt to contemn the Interpoſition of the Republick, in caſe it proceeded from their good Intention, ſo it was neceſſary before he could accept its Mediation, to have Aſſurances of its not having failed in affection to the Crown of *Sweden*: That for his part, tho' he had been under the Neceſſity of entering *Poland* in purſuit of an Enemy, from whom he had received the greateſt Injuries, he could not however reproach himſelf with having committed any Hoſtilities againſt the Republick: That notwithſtanding many things had been attempted to his prejudice, very remote from what might be expected from a Nation in amity and alliance with him; for which reaſon to remove ſuſpicion, it was proper that it ſhould be explained by whoſe Counſels the War had began, by what Authority the Crown-Army had not long before taken Arms againſt him at the Battle of *Cliſſow*; by whoſe Orders the *Poliſh* Troops daily

1702. Republick's Ambaſſadors write to the K. of *Sweden*.

That Prince's Anſwer.

1702. committed Hoſtilities againſt his Soldiers; and by whoſe Advice Intrigues were perpetually carried on againſt him in foreign Courts. If all this, continued he, be done by the publick Authority, I leave your Excellency to judge whether the Republick, being itſelf a Party, can take upon it the Right of treating of Peace and Mediation.

Dilemma of the Republick.

The Caſe was difficult enough. It was not eaſy to decide whether the Republick was at War or Peace with *Sweden*. It was certain however, that a great part of the Republick had engaged in the Quarrel, and taken Arms againſt the *Swedes*. If it could be ſaid the Republick was included in the ſmall number of its Members, who were pacifick, neutral, and diſarmed, they muſt have granted that *Poland* was no more than the Shadow of a Republick: If on the contrary, it conſiſted of the greater number of its Lords and Nobility, it had taken Party, and was from thenceforth incapable of the Mediation. In regard to *Charles*'s Complaint, that they had taken Arms againſt him, at a time when he was purſuing his Enemy, without committing any Hoſtilities againſt the Republick, nothing could be more unhappy. Was not the Republick in the right to take Arms, and to act offenſively when it ſaw a foreign Prince enter *Poland* at the head of an Army, and take poſſeſſion of the principal Cities of the King-

Kingdom? Whatever Profeſſions he might make of coming thither only as a Friend, were they obliged to take his Word, and did not good Policy require they ſhould endeavour to repel ſo dangerous a Gueſt? 1702.

New Council of the Senate.

The King of *Sweden*'s Anſwer to the Ambaſſadors having been remitted to *Warſaw*, a new Council of the Senate was held, at which the Primate ſtill refuſed to aſſiſt. They did not fail however coming to a Reſolution to let *Charles* know, that the Embaſſy ſent him was authorized by the whole Republick, and ordered the Ambaſſadors to demand Audience again, and to inſiſt upon his poſitive Anſwer. But *Charles* refuſed to ſee the Deputies, and being recovered from his fall, his ſole Attention was to purſue his firſt Deſign. He put himſelf at the Head of his Army, and leaving 2000 Men in Garriſon at *Cracow*, took his march along the *Viſtula*, upon which he embarked part of his Foot, and all his Cannon and Ammunition. In that Order he advanced to the Side of *Warſaw* at the Head of 25000 Men, by ſlow Marches, becauſe the *Viſtula* was then very low.

King of *Sweden* purſues his Enemy.

Auguſtus quits *Warſaw*.

Upon the firſt news of the *Swedes* March, the King of *Poland* left *Warſaw*, where he was with four Regiments of Foot and Dragoons, and went to join his *Saxon* Troops quartered in *Pruſſia*. He arrived at *Thorn* the 6th of *November* where he ſummoned a Council

1702. Council of the Senate for the 29th of the ſame Month, and immediately ſet out ſecretly from *Dreſden*. He returned time enough to be preſent at that Council, at which neither the Primate, the Great General of *Poland*, the Palatine of *Mazovia*, nor many other Senators aſſiſted. The Aſſembly were divided from the firſt. The Deputies of *Great Poland* were for adhering to the Reſolutions of the Aſſemſembly of *Sendomir*, and thoſe of *Little Poland* demanded their Conformity to a Confederacy which they had made at *Colo* upon the *Warta* in favour of King *Auguſtus*. At length however they agreed to let *Charles* know that the Republick accepted the Emperor's Mediation; and to declare War upon him in caſe he ſhould refuſe to treat. The Counts *Zinzendorf* and *Stractman*, Imperial Miniſters, had for ſome time apply'd to the King of *Poland*, and ſometimes to the King of *Sweden* to incline them to an Accommodation. *Auguſtus* had not only accepted the Mediation, but to facilitate the Peace had detached 8000 of his Troops to his Imperial Majeſty.

Aſſembles a Great Council at *Thorn*.

He accepts the Emperor's Mediation.

This was a Circumſtance of no advantage to *Auguſtus*, and Count *Zinzendorf* adverti ſed *Charles* of it to no purpoſe, That Prince determined to purſue his Enemy to the utmoſt, would hearken to no Propoſals. Count *Piper* his firſt Miniſter, gave for Anſwer that his Maſter was always in Motion, and could

Which the King of *Sweden* refuſes.

could not give Audience upon that Subject. *Charles* was in reality always on horſeback after his Wound was cured. His chief Employment was however in raiſing Contributions from all the Places where his Troops could find entrance. They were indeed moderate enough upon thoſe who made no reſiſtance, but very high to them who expreſſed the leaſt Attachment to the Intereſt of *Auguſtus*. 1702.

Who raiſes Contributions.

Count *Steinbock*, who commanded a Body of Troops near *Leopold*, acted in the ſame manner. About the End of *December* he notified to the Senators and principal Lords of *Poliſh Ruſſia*, that they muſt declare what Party they would take; and as the *Waywode* of *Wolhinia* expreſſed himſelf a zealous Adherent of the King of *Poland*, *Steinbock* ſent him with his Wife and Children Priſoners to *Przemiſt*.

Two Envoys of *France* in *Poland* laid under Arreſt.

Some time before King *Auguſtus* had laid the Sieur *Heron* Envoy Extraordinary from *France* to *Poland*, and the Sieur *Bonac*, Envoy from the ſame Court to the King of *Sweden*, under Arreſt. The firſt, for not having taken any notice of Orders twice ſent him to quit the Dominions of *Poland*. That Miniſter pretended to continue in the Kingdom, as being ſent to the Republick as well as to the King. He was arreſted and ſent to *Warſaw* the 10th of *November* at Night, with a Detachment of *Saxon* Troops. From thence he was conducted to *Thorn*, and afterwards

1703. terwards over the Frontiers of the Kingdom. The Grand Marſhal of the Crown had indeed proteſted againſt ſuch Treatment of him, and declared that it was without the Republick's participation, which did not hinder the King of *France* from confining all the *Poles* then at *Paris*.

Complaint of the Court of *France*.

The Affair did not ſtop there. Towards the Beginning of the Year 1703, the Cardinal Primate received two Letters from the Marquis de *Torcy*, who complained in moſt lively terms of a Violence committed againſt the Law of Nations, and demanded in the Name of the King his Maſter, whether the two Envoys of *France* had been put under Arreſt by the Republick's Conſent, and what Meaſures they intended to take for the Satisfaction of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. Some Aſſemblies held in the *Palatinate* of *Ruſſia*, had wrote to the Primate to deſire he would inform the Court of *France*, that the Republick had no Share in the ſeizing thoſe Miniſters.

Primate's pert Letter to the King.

The Primate wrote to the King of *Poland* upon that Occaſion in terms ſufficiently warm. " I am under the greateſt Concern " ſaid he, to find my ſelf obliged to divide " the Republick and its Head in this Af- " fair, by diſclaiming a *Violence* in which " it had no Share. I cannot carry my *Com-* " *plaiſance* ſo far as to *diſſemble* my Senſe, " and leaſt of all to approve an Action uni- " verſally condemned." After having deplored

plored the ſad Condition of *Poland*, become the Theatre of War, and doomed to ſuffer for Faults in which it had no other Part. 1703.
" *Sad Experience*, added he, ought to make
" your Majeſty ſenſible of the *Ignorance of*
" *thoſe blind Guides*, who inſtead of *conduct-*
" *ing You to the Temple of Glory*, have made
" you take a quite different Path."

Whether *Auguſtus* had already begun to ſuſpect the Primate's Conduct, or was offended at the Liberty of his Expreſſions, his Reſentment appeared in his Anſwer. After having put him in mind that the Laws of the Kingdom knew no diſtinct Authority in the Perſon of the Archbiſhop Primate, but in the *Interregnum* only. " I perceive
" by your Counſels, ſaid he, ironically,
" Your Zeal for our Service, a Zeal ſo ex-
" ceſſive, that it has tranſported you into
" the diſcovery of *Violence* and Precipitati-
" on in my Conduct." He went on to obſerve, that no Laws obliged him to account for his Actions to any Perſons whatſoever, but only to the Republick in Diet aſſembled, of which his Perſon alone compoſed the firſt Eſtate; and that upon the Diſſolution of the Diet, the Authority of the Republick veſted in him alone. He did not however omit to inform the Primate of his Motives for arreſting the two Envoys of *France*. He inſinuated, that the Marquis *Heron* had been ſeized for having held Diſcourſes againſt him

King's Anſwer.

1703. him, of which Accounts had been ſent to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; and the Sieur *Bonac* for want of the neceſſary Paſſports. Beſides added he, I beg you, my very good Couſin, to uſe neither *Complaiſance* nor *Diſſimulation* upon my Account, who love neither the one nor the other of thoſe Characteriſticks. Let us both act according to the inviolable Laws of the Kingdom, which admit no *Separation between the Head and the Body* of the Republick. All *Separations* are dangerous and always pernicious to their Author. Let us unite rather in remedying the Misfortunes which the too great Diſcord has drawn upon the Nation, and to which a Salutary Union may eaſily put an End. *Sad Experience* may make you underſtand, good Couſin, the *Ignorance and Malice of blind Guides*, who under falſe Appearances, inſtead of conducting our Country *to the Temple of Concord* and Tranquillity, betray it into Diſorder and Ruin.

About the ſame Time the Primate received a Letter from the Diet of *Great Poland*, exhorting him to employ the Authority his Dignity gave him in putting an End to the Troubles of the Kingdom. The artful Primate intent upon making the moſt of every Thing that favoured his Deſigns, took occaſion from this Letter to aſſemble a kind of Council of the Senate at *Warſaw*. To this purpoſe he wrote circular Letters to all

all the Senators and Ambaſſadors appointed to negotiate the Peace between *Poland* and *Sweden*. He lamented in thoſe Letters the Inſenſibility of the *Poles*, who with ſurpriſing Indifference could ſee the Ruin of their Country, in which there ſeemed no longer either Law, Juſtice, Liberty, Valour, or in a word any Reſemblance of their ancient Virtue. He complained that nothing appeared every where but Weakneſs and an abject Spirit, and that People kept at home as if they were unconcerned in the Deſolation of their Country, which was become a prey to foreign Troops and the Contempt of its Neighbours. He added he had been ſometime before at *Warſaw* to conſult with the Pope's Nuncio and the foreign Miniſters, upon proper Means to redreſs ſo many Evils, but was informed that Succeſs was impoſſible, if the *Poles* did not contribute to their own Preſervation. That therefore in diſcharge of his Conſcience, and to expreſs his Zeal for the good of the Republick, which he could not ſuffer to expoſe itſelf any longer to intire Deſtruction, and by virtue of the Authority his Dignity gave him, he ſummoned to *Warſaw* for the 15th of *February* all the Senators, and eſpecially thoſe deputed to treat with the King of *Sweden*, in order to conſider proper Meaſures for the Preſervation

1703. Primate ſummons a Great Council upon his own Authority.

1703. vation of the Republick, upon the very brink of its utter Ruin.

Few of the Senators come to it.

Very few of the Senators had been present at the Assembly summoned by the King to *Thorn*, and not so many came to this assembled by the Primate. Some refused absolutely to admit that the Primate had any Right to appoint particular Assemblies during the King's Life: Others excused themselves, because whilst the *Swedes* were in possession of the Citadel of *Warsaw*, the Liberty of Voting could not subsist in the Assemby; so that for want of a sufficient number of Senators to give the necessary force to their Resolutions, the Primate referred the Assembly to another Time. But he used a Precaution which gave him reason to hope they would be more ready to comply with his Desires for the future. He published a Letter which the King of *Sweden* had wrote him, as it had had been concerted between them. *Charles* tells him in it, that after having waited long, as no Remedy appeared capable of putting an End to the Troubles, which had kept his Arms till then in the Kingdom, he declared again that he had nothing more at heart than to receive proper Counsels for the Attainment of that End: That he should be glad a speedy Expedient could be found to procure as well the Tranquillity of *Poland*, as the Advantage and

King of *Sweden*'s Letter published by the Primate.

and Security of *Sweden*; but that as it was in vain to expect to ſucceed in that Deſire, in a Place where Hatred, Envy, Hope, Fear, and the Animoſity of Parties had entirely baniſhed the Freedom of ſpeaking, he thought nothing could be more ſalutary in ſo difficult a Conjuncture than to ſummon an Aſſembly, in which the Nation being perfectly free, might explain it ſelf with entire Confidence, and take proper Meaſures to re-eſtabliſh a ſolid and laſting Tranquillity. 1703.

Auguſtus's Affairs ſeem to revive.

The King of *Poland*'s Affairs ſeemed to have a more promiſing Aſpect. Some Provinces, of which *Wolhinia* was one, ſent their Deputies to him at *Marienburgh*, where he had been from the 4th of *February*, to aſſure him of their Fidelity, and Zeal for the Defence of his Perſon, and the Safety of the Republick. The Deputies had at the ſame time intreated him to publiſh the Univerſalia for aſſembling a General Diet, but *Auguſtus* foreſaw, that as Affairs then ſtood, a General Diet could not be held without expoſing the Nobility to fatal Diviſions, and choſe rather to ſummon a new Council of the Senate. Beſides which he had another Advantage: The Crown-Army had given him Aſſurances of its Fidelity; the General Officers, and even the Troops had made a new Confederacy

Summons a Great Council to *Thorn*.

1703. in his favour, and engaged themſelves by Oath to ſhed the laſt Drop of their Blood in his Service.

Which he transfers to *Marienburgh.* The *Senatus Concilium* was at firſt ſummoned to meet at *Thorn* the 16th of *March*, but for their better convenience the King transferred it to *Marienburgh.* The circular Letters diſpatched for that Purpoſe imported, that it would not be difficult for the Senate to penetrate the Truth, thro' all the Artifices that had been uſed to deceive them; that without taking notice of the Contrivances of certain Perſons, ill-affected to the Head and Members of the Republick, the King of *Sweden*'s Letter might ſuffice to convince them, that his only Aim was to excite the Nobility, to take Reſolutions contrary to the Good of the Republick. In them, continued he, an ambiguous and equivocal Stile is moſt evident, and the affected Profeſſions of Amity, under the deluſive Appearance of Peace, intend only to lull the Republick into a falſe Security.

King of *Sweden* offended. The Gall which prevailed in thoſe Letters, gave the King of *Sweden* a proportionate Reſentment, and entirely ſuppreſſed his ſlight Inclinations for Peace, with which the Miniſters of *Vienna*, *England* and *Holland* had inſpired him; and the Articles delivered to the *Senatus Concilium* for their Conſideration, enraged him ſo much, that he

he was unable to conceal his Indignation. Amongſt other things it was demanded in thoſe Articles, What Meaſures ſhould be taken for the Puniſhment of the Favourers and Adherents of *Sweden*. 1703.

Auguſtus had regained the Affection of many of the Senators by his Careſſes and Promiſes, ſo that the Aſſembly at *Marienburgh* was numerous, and favourable to his Intereſts. Amongſt the Reſolutions taken there it was agreed, that the Republick having ſuffered exceedingly from the *Swedes*, and been harraſſed as much or more by them, than by declared Enemies, it was no longer conſiſtent to regard them, but as ſuch. They confirmed the Reſolutions of the Diet of *Sendomir*, for uniting the Minds and Arms of the People againſt the King of *Sweden* and his Adherents. They decreed, that the whole Nobility and a General Diet ſhould be ſummoned to aſſemble in open Field: That the Aſſembly, ſummoned by the Primate at *Warſaw*, ſhould be held illegal: That the Generals of the Army ſhould be deſired to ſtand to their Arms, and oppoſe the Violences of the *Swedes*. A General Confederacy was alſo reſolved for the Safety of the King and Republick; but this Article was far from paſſing without oppoſition. The *Lithuanians*, who at firſt ſeemed moſt ardent for

Reſolutions of the Great Council of *Marienburgh*.

1703. the Confederacy, drew back exceedingly, when they found the abſolute Diſpoſal of the Houſe of *Sapieha*'s Offices would not be granted them, and that on the contrary almoſt all the Voices favoured a Reconciliation with that Family.

Primate's Pretences. A ſmall number of the Senators refuſed to ſign thoſe Reſolutions, and the Primate upon being apprized of them, pretended that Reparation ought to be made him for the Injury done his Authority. He maintained, that in the preſent Conjuncture of the Nation's Affairs, he had a Power, and it was his duty to conſult with the Republick without the King's Participation. He appointed the 16th of *April* for the meeting of the Aſſembly, ſummoned before to *Warſaw*, and expected the Senators would come thither when their Council at *Marienburgh* ſhould break up. *Auguſtus* himſelf ſeemed to apprehend This, which was no doubt his Motive for protracting that Council. Thus the King and the Cardinal formed two different Parties in *Poland*. Thoſe Parties were alſo ſo oppoſite, that they denied each other the Right to act in the Name of the Republick. *Auguſtus* did not acknowledge the Primate to have any Authority, and the Primate looked upon the Reſolutions of the ſeveral Councils, held by the King, not to have the Republick's Con-

Two Parties in *Poland*.

Concurrence, of which he gave a ſenſible Inſtance, when the Deputies for the Peace arrived at *Warſaw*. He declared, they ought not to be deemed the Deputies of the Republick, as they had received their Orders from the Aſſembly of *Marienburgh*, that Aſſembly having declared for King *Auguſtus* againſt the King of *Sweden*, which he pretended the Republick had not done, and could not do. 1703.

Such Pretences had no other Intention than to diſpel the Hopes of Peace, which the Negotiations of the Miniſters of *Vienna*, *England* and *Holland* had given. Every thing ſeemed to expreſs that the two Kings would endeavour in the Spring to drive one another out of *Poland*. *Auguſtus*, always in alliance with the *Czar*, ſollicited his Aid, who promiſed to ſend a Body of 100000 *Muſcovites* into *Lithuania*. If thoſe Promiſes had been made good, the King of *Poland* would have had 150000 Men at his diſpoſal. The Crown-Army, and that of General *Oginski* made togther 35000 Men, and the *Saxon* Army were at leaſt 15000. *Czar's* Offers.

All this was not capable of terrifying the King of *Sweden*, or making him think of Peace and a Retreat. He kept quiet in his Camp, except that after having ſubſiſted his Army in one part of *Poland*, he re- King of *Sweden's* Conſtancy

1703. moved it to another. *Auguſtus* and the *Poliſh* Generals acted almoſt in the ſame manner, in reſpect to quartering the Crown and *Saxon* Army. It might have been ſaid that the Ruin of *Poland* had been concerted between the two Parties.

It has been obſerved, that the King of *Sweden* was much offended at the Reſolutions taken in the Aſſembly at *Marienburgh*, and People were ſurprized that a Prince, not naturally apt to conceal his Reſentment, did not give ſome Proofs of it. But he deferred it for a better occaſion of explaining himſelf. He was preparing a new Declaration, upon which the Succeſs of his Projects depended. As ſoon as it was ready he ſent it to the Primate, with whom he had ſecretly conferred ſome time before. It contained his Sentiments, or rather his Will in reſpect to the Affairs of the Republick, and ſignified amongſt other things, mentioned in preceding Memorials: That his *Swediſh* Majeſty had juſt Reaſons not to confide in the King of *Poland*: That three Years were elapſed, without his being able to procure the Satisfaction he had a Right to demand from him: That altho' he had profeſſed upon ſeveral Occaſions, that he had the Glory of his Arms leſs at heart, than the Repoſe of the People, in demanding a General Diet to be ſummoned, (the moſt

New Declaration of that Prince.

moſt proper Means to pacify the Troubles of *Poland*, as conformable to its Laws and Cuſtoms;) *Auguſtus* nevertheleſs far from approving that Method, had oppoſed it with the Council of *Marienburgh*, whoſe Reſolutions were directly contrary to the Deſign of it: That that Prince believing he had all things to fear from a Diet, where every one might ſpeak his Senſe with freedom, endeavoured by Protractions to oppreſs the Liberty of the Republick: That as the Reſolutions of the Council of *Marienburgh* had no other Foundation than thoſe of the Aſſembly at *Sendomir*, compoſed only of a few *Palatinates*, it was ridiculous to pretend it repreſented the whole Nation: That it was in vain for it to offer its Mediation between the two Kings, that Office belonging only to the whole Body of the Republick: That his *Swediſh* Majeſty having already refuſed to give Audience to the Deputies of *Sendomir*, could not receive thoſe of *Marienburgh*, who were no better authoriſed, and tho' they had been ſo, it could not be expected they were charged with any Propoſals ſincerely tending to Peace, coming as they did from a Council which breathed nothing but War: That this obliged him not to enter upon a Treaty, without being firſt aſſured of a previous Satisfaction: That he would not op- 1703.

1703. poſe a Peace by which his Honour ſhould not ſuffer, and which would procure the Safety of the two Nations in ſuch a Manner, that the Tranquillity of the one might ſecure the Tranquillity of the other: That the Intereſts of *Sweden*, and thoſe of the Republick being ſo much the ſame, it was neceſſary they ſhould alſo agree in their Sentiments: That there was no ſurer means to the Attainment of that end, than to aſſemble a General and Free Diet, where all Parties might explain themſelves at large. That if the Diet were ſummoned by the Care and under the Authority of the Primate, his *Swediſh* Majeſty was ready to comply with ſuch reaſonable Propoſals as ſhould be made; and that otherwiſe he would take ſuitable Meaſures to prevent his being impoſed upon by ſo many Delays.

Primate ſends it to the King.

The Primate, who, notwithſtanding all he had done, affected ſtill to appear impartial, immediately ſent this Declaration to the King of *Poland*, whom the reading of it confirmed in the Reſolution already taken of holding a General Diet. But the King of *Sweden* without waiting an Anſwer, prepared to attack the *Saxon* Army encamped at *Pultusk*. He began his March at the head of his Horſe, which paſſed the *Bugh* on the 30th of *April*, fording and

ſwimming

ſwimming the River; moſt of the Horſe carrying a Fuſilier behind them. Tho' the *Saxons* had notice of his March and Time to draw up in Battle, he broke their Ranks and put them into ſuch Diſorder, that in their haſte to get off, they threw themſelves into the *Narew*, where a great Number of them periſhed. Six hundred of them were left upon the Field, and 1000 more made Priſoners. General *Steinau* who commanded, eſcaped himſelf with the greateſt Difficulty. All the Cannon and Baggage fell into the hands of the *Swedes*. *Charles* after this Expedition marched into *Pruſſia* towards *Thorn*, where the *Saxons* had raiſed a new Fort, encamped ſome Miles from the City, which he blockaded and put a Garriſon into the Caſtle of *Graudentz*, and into the little Town of *Stratzburgh*.

1703. Battle of *Pultusk*.

Thorn blockaded.

As the Advantage gained by the *Swedes* at *Pultusk* was not deciſive, it altered nothing in the principal Affairs. The Council aſſembled at *Warſaw* by the Primate, took occaſion from it to expreſs more Attachment than uſual to the King's Perſon. It declared, that whether the Council of *Marienburgh* was or was not a Conſequence of that of *Sendomir*, which ſome People apprehended its only view was to re-eſtabliſh the Tranquillity of the Kingdom; that therefore

Reſolutions of the Great Council ſummon'd by the Primate.

1703. fore it was neceſſary to lay aſide all Scruples, and to proceed in earneſt to a Peace by ſetting ſuch a Treaty on foot, as might be advantageous both to *Poland* and *Sweden*; but as the moſt inviolable Principle with the Republick was the Liberty they had always enjoyed, they could not entertain a Thought, during the King's Life, of a new Election under the leaſt Shadow of Compulſion, and eſpecially after that Prince's Declaration upon Oath, never to attempt any thing for the future againſt the Privileges of the Nation, or without the Privity of the Republick: That in Conſequence there could be no juſtice in oppoſing a Confederacy of ſo many *Palatinates*, who had engaged their Lives and Fortunes for the Defence of the King, and that far from hearkening to ſo unheard of a Propoſal as a Dethronement, the Council in the Name of the Republick proteſted againſt it in the moſt ſolemn manner, and were ready to be Guarantees for the King's inviolable future Obſervance of the Treaty of *Oliva*.

Complained of by the King of *Sweden*.

Theſe Reſolutions were far from being agreeable to King *Charles*, and Count *Piper* complained of them to the Primate by his Order. That Miniſter told him, that the Aſſembly's proceedings would not engage his Maſter to comply with the Meaſures they

they ſeemed to have in view, unleſs it were expedient for the Safety of the Republick: But as the Aſſembly appeared to agree with the King his Maſter, in diſapproving and condemning all the King of *Poland* had done in regard to the War, and thought themſelves obliged to take Meaſures for preventing any thing of the like Nature for the future, his *Swediſh* Majeſty thought it neceſſary to ask the Republick what Reaſons they could have to aſſure themſelves of that Effect? Notwithſtanding, added he, as his Majeſty having no other view but the purſuit of his Enemy, has always carefully avoided doing the leaſt Injury to the Republick, having even ſuffered Things very little to be expected from a Prince in Arms, he has commanded me to declare, that whilſt he is not attacked he ſhall retain a ſincere Friendſhip for thoſe who continue in Peace with him, but that if the *Poles* or Crown-Army interfere in the War, he cannot avoid regarding ſuch Behaviour as actual Hoſtility, and ſhall endeavour to return it in proportion to the Injury done him. 1703.

Some Days after the Receipt of this Anſwer, the Primate and Council aſſembled at *Warſaw* by his Orders, ſent the Sieur *Trzowianski* to the King of *Sweden* with new Letters and Reſolutions. But as they included

New Reſolutions ſent to that Prince.

1703. cluded nothing more Satisfactory than had been propoſed by the former Council, he was contented with anſwering, that as the Republick might come to different Reſolutions in the approaching Diet from thoſe they had hitherto taken, he choſe to expect the Reſult of it.

Who juſtifies himſelf from the Infraction of Truce.

However as the King of *Poland* was for making the Action of *Pultusk* an Infraction of Truce, *Charles* directed Count *Piper* to write again to the Primate, to juſtify him againſt that Imputation. He proved, that there was not only no Truce ſubſiſting, but that the King had not ſo much as conſented to accept the Mediation of any foreign Miniſter. Beſides which he affirmed, that after the Battle of *Pultusk*, among General *Steinau*'s Papers the King of *Poland*'s Orders were found, by which that General was commanded to fight the *Swedes*, whenever he ſhould find the Opportunity favour him.

Artifice of the Primate.

The Primate's Anſwer to this Letter did not regard any Circumſtance contained in it. Another Motive employed his Pen. He intended to be preſent at the General Diet, which the King of *Poland* had ſummoned to *Lublin* for the 19th of *June*, and would have been glad to have firſt illuded the Umbrage, which the King and many of the Senate had taken at his Conduct. With this

this View he made moſt preſſing Inſtances to King *Charles* to enter into a Treaty. He repreſented that the Republick was upon the point of aſſembling in a Diet, that could not be looked upon as partial, and intreated him to withdraw his Troops immediately from before the Town of *Thorn*, which he had blockaded ſome time. Tho' thoſe Remonſtrances and Intreaties were no more than feint to conceal the badneſs of his real Intentions, the Artifice ſucceeded. He found Means to have his Letter intercepted, which was carried to *Lublin*, and believed to expreſs his real Sentiments. There was no occaſion for any thing further, to reinſtate him in the favour of the greateſt part of thoſe, who had been moſt offended at his Conduct. 1703.

He arrived there the 25th of *June*, and found the Diet had opened the 19th in the King's Preſence. He carried with him a great number of Gentlemen, and was met on his way by part of the Nobility aſſembled at *Lublin*. The Diet ſhewed him alſo ſo much Deference, as to return his intercepted Letter under Seal: But when he deſired Audience of the King, it was refuſed him by ſome of the Lords, till he had taken the ſame Oath the other Senators had ſworn in the Aſſemblies of *Sendomir* and *Marienburgh*. They added even ſome Clauſes

He comes to the Diet at *Lublin*.

Oath required of him.

1703. Clauſes to it, *viz.* That he had not called in the *Swedes*; that he had not ſupported their Intereſt; that he had not undertaken any thing againſt the King, and would undertake nothing for the future againſt that Prince. *Auguſtus*, who had ſome knowledge of the Primate's Intrigues, thought fit to diſpenſe with all thoſe Clauſes except the laſt, which he made no difficulty to ſwear. All the other Senators who had not yet taken that Oath, followed the Primate's Example.

After theſe Advances it was not doubted but the Diet's Reſolutions would be conformable to the King's Deſire. There were however ſeveral Debates, which made it neceſſary to prolong the Aſſembly three Days. Their Determinations were concluded at one Sitting, which laſted without interruption from eight in the Morning *July* 9th till two in the Afternoon of next Day; the King being preſent the whole Night. Thoſe Reſolutions were compriſed in ſix Articles. The firſt decreed, that the Crown Army ſhould be augmented to 36000 Men, and that of *Lithuania* to 12000, including the *Saxon* Auxiliaries, who were to be paid by the Republick and commanded by the Crown General. For the Maintenance of thoſe Armies, a Crown a Head was to be levied on all the Jews in the

Diet's Reſolutions.

the Kingdom; and a Duty to be laid on all kinds of Liquor. By the ſecond Article ſix Weeks were to be allowed the King of *Sweden*, to declare his Reſolutions for War or Peace. The third imported, that the Princes of the Houſe of *Sapieha* ſhould be indulged in ſix Weeks time to return to their Duty, and to come in and beg Pardon of the King upon the Hope of being reſtored to their Dignities and Eſtates; in default of which they were to be totally deprived and declared Traitors to their Country. According to the fourth Article, all People were forbid to propoſe the Dethronement of the King. The fifth expreſſed, that if the King of *Sweden* would not agree to a Peace upon reaſonable Terms, and it ſhould be neceſſary to continue the War, the King ſhould be authoriſed to make ſuch Alliances with foreign Powers as he ſhould judge convenient. And by the laſt, to ſatisfy the King of *Pruſſia*'s Claim upon *Elbing*, a Crown was to be raiſed upon the leſſer Mills, two upon the greater, and three upon every Water-Mill throughout the Kingdom. 1703.

Of theſe ſix Articles an Act was prepared in form of Conſtitution, importing the General Union of the Members of the Republick, under the Title of *The Proteſt and mutual Agreement of the ſeveral Orders of the* General Union of the Members of the Republick.

1703. *the Kingdom.* After which they went to the Jeſuits Church, where the *Te Deum* was ſung with the Service of Thankſgiving.

Tho' the Diet had taken the neceſſary Meaſures for the Defence of the Republick, it had not however abandoned Negotiation. On the contrary Commiſſioners were appointed with Inſtructions to neglect nothing that might promote the Treaty if poſſible. The Primate, who had juſt ſworn with ſo much facility not to undertake any Thing againſt the King, ſeemed for ſome Time to approve the Sentiments of the Diet. Upon his Arrival at *Warſaw*, he aſſembled the Republick's Commiſſioners. His whole Diſcourſe was Peace and Concord, and of acting in concert with them; and he wrote to the King of *Sweden* to preſs him to conclude a Peace. But that Prince who knew the Inſtances of the Primate were only deſigned to conceal his Correſpondence with *Sweden*, made him an Anſwer equally Equivocal. He complained of the *Poles* Delay, of the Trouble and Regret it gave him, and declared himſelf entirely inclined to Peace, provided the Propoſals were ſuitable.

New Powers given the Republick's Commiſſioners.

There lay the Difficulty. Whatever Conditions could be made to a Prince inflexible in his Projects, it was reaſonable to expect

Difficulty of making ſuitable Propoſals.

pect an Anſwer grown familiar with him; 1703.
The Security was not to be depended upon, nor the Satisfaction ſufficient. The Miniſters of *Vienna*, *England* and *Holland*, had a better Opinion of *Charles*'s Sincerity from the Appearances, and when they ſaw him declare an Inclination for Peace, they redoubled their Applications to reconcile the Difference. They went to *Auguſtus* and got his Conſent to ſend their Secretaries to the King of *Sweden*, to prevail upon him to treat; but it was impoſſible to get any other Anſwer from King *Charles* than what he had given before to the Primate, and the Republick's Commiſſioners. He only added, that he expected thoſe Commiſſioners would ſend him their Propoſals in writing, and that it would then appear it was no fault of his if the Peace of *Poland* were not re-eſtabliſhed.

Propoſals of the Republick's Commiſſioners.

Good Policy would not admit the Commiſſioners to neglect this laſt Reſource for the Accommodation. They went to the *Swediſh* Camp before *Thorn*, and delivered their Propoſals in writing. They conſiſted of ſeven Articles, by which among other things the Republick engaged, that as ſoon as the Peace ſhould be concluded, all foreign Troops ſhould quit *Poland*, and the King of *Poland* and his Succeſſors be reſtrained from making any foreign Alliance with-

1703. out the Privity of the Republick: That Care ſhould be taken, that neither the King nor his Succeſſors ſhould commit any Hoſtilities upon the *Swediſh* Dominions, nor grant paſſage thro' thoſe of the Republick to any Prince's Troops at War with *Sweden*; and that neither the King nor his Succeſſors ſhould ſupply Men, Money, or any other Aids, to the Enemies of that Crown.

Thoſe Propoſals were of a Nature not to be rejected, if the Republick had acted in Concert and with the good Underſtanding neceſſary to ſupport them. But the little Union among the *Poles* gave *Charles* room to except to thoſe Articles. He objected, that they did not expreſs either the Reparation for the Damages done him during the War, the Re-eſtabliſhment of the *Sapiehas* or the Security for the Performance of the Treaty when concluded; Three Points which ſufficiently diſcovered, that *Charles* deſired nothing leſs than the Peace ſo much talked of in his Letters.

Why rejected by the King of *Sweden.*

About this Time the Nobility of *Great Poland* entered into a Confederacy, to prevent the Ruin of their Country, and to maintain their Liberties. The King of *Sweden* attentive to every Occaſion which might favour his Deſigns, took the Advantage of this Circumſtance to invite the reſt

Confederacy of *Great Poland.*

reſt of *Poland* into that Confederacy. He conceived that if he could effect a Diviſion between the Republick and its Head, it would be no difficulty to go on to the Dethronement he intended. With this View he publiſhed a Manifeſto, wherein he declared highly for the Confederacy. He inſinuated, that it conſiſted of the moſt prudent Perſons of the State whom he took under his Protection, and exhorted to perſiſt in the Reſolution they had taken. On the other ſide he declared, that he ſhould regard all thoſe as Enemies, who continued to adhere to King *Auguſtus*, and refuſed to confederate in favour of the Liberty of the Republick; and threatened to treat them with the utmoſt Rigour, laying all the ill Conſequences and Misfortunes that might enſue to their Charge. 1703.

King of *Sweden* publiſhes a Manifeſto.

This Manifeſto encouraged the Confederacy. They appointed Deputies to demand Peace from the King of *Sweden*, who received them graciouſly, and ordered them an Anſwer to their Demands in writing. After having given great praiſes to the Reſolution of the confederated Nobility, he repreſented the Neceſſity of reeſtabliſhing a ſolid and laſting Peace in the Kingdom of *Poland*, and a firm and inſeparable Union between *Sweden* and the

Which encourages the Confederacy.

1703. Republick; but obſerved, that thoſe Advantages were only to be expected from the Dethronement of *Auguſtus*.

Affairs of *Auguſtus* on an ill foot.

Auguſtus was ſo enraged at this Proceeding of the Confederates, that he declared he would look upon them for the future only as Rebels, and treat them as ſuch upon all Occaſions. All he could do was to threaten. Beſides the Nobility of *Great Poland*, thoſe of the *Palatinates* of *Culm*, *Marienburgh*, *Pomerania*, *Dobrzin*, *Brzeſcia*, *Cujavia* and ſeveral other Places, joined the Confederacy. Every Day he ſaw himſelf abandoned by ſome Lord whom he thought moſt firm in his Intereſt; and to add to his Diſtreſs, the Crown-Army expreſſed no great Zeal for his Service; his *Saxon* Troops ſeemed afraid to look an Enemy in the Face, who had more than once beat and put them to flight; and for himſelf, whether he thought it adviſeable to remove from the Neighbourhood of his Adverſary, or ſuſpected the Primate's Counſels, who deſired him not to abſent himſelf, that he might be in readineſs to anſwer ſuch Propoſals as might be made him; It ſeemed his Intention to ſecure himſelf an *Aſylum* in projecting a Journey to *Saxony*.

Succeſs of *Charles*.

On the contrary every thing went to *Charles*'s Wiſh. His Troops augmented daily

daily by Reinforcements from *Sweden*. The *Swediſh* Soldiers fluſhed with ſo many Advantages, deſired nothing ſo much as a deciſive Battle that might put their Prince into a Condition of giving the Law, and *Charles* got ground every Day thro' the Terror of the *Swediſh* Name, or the continual Succeſs of his Arms. 1703.

Who makes himſelf Maſter of *Thorn*.

The 22d of *September*, that Prince's Army being reinforced with new Troops from *Sweden*, began the Siege of *Thorn*. The 24th the Batteries being ready, he made ſo great a fire with his Cannon and Mortars, that in a few Days the greateſt part of the Houſes were either beat down or reduced to Aſhes. The Governor however held out till the 14th of *October*, when he was forced to ſurrender at Diſcretion. Of a Garriſon conſiſting of 5000 Men, when the Blockade begun only 2000 marched out, and of thoſe the greateſt part were ſick. *Charles* honoured in the Governor and Commandant of the Place the Valour they had ſhewn during the Siege, and ordered their Swords to be returned them, kept them to Dinner with him, and gave the firſt 2000 Crowns to buy him new Equipage. The Inhabitants to redeem their Walls, and the Gates of their City, agreed to pay 40000 Crowns.

1703. About two Months before the Surrendry of *Thorn*, Count *Steinbock* had demanded paſſage of the City of *Dantzick* for 6000 *Swedes* that were arrived from *Sweden*, and intended to reinforce the Army before *Thorn*. The Magiſtracy made at firſt ſome Difficulties, which were looked upon as a Refuſal. The *Swediſh* General, who had with him fourteen Ships of War without reckoning the Tranſports, immediately ſeized all the Veſſels in their Road, and by that Means got more than his Demand; for the City by way of Compromiſe, beſides the Freedom of Paſſage, paid a Contribution of 100000 Crowns.

Refuſal of the City of *Dantzick* puniſhed.

Elbing puniſhed for the ſame.

The City of *Elbing*, which had made the ſame Refuſal as *Dantzick*, and not taken warning from its Example, was puniſhed more ſeverely. *Charles* entered it on the 12th of *December* at the head of 3000 Men with their Bayonets fixed. The Inhabitants in a Conſternation deſired Mercy. Upon which he ordered them to be all diſarmed, quarter'd his Soldiers in their Houſes, demanded a Contribution of 200000 Crowns, and declared 200 Pieces of Cannon and 400000 Weight of Powder, found in the Place, lawful Prize.

There was great reaſon to believe the King of *Pruſſia* ſecretly favoured this Expedition againſt the City of *Elbing*; at leaſt it

it is certain, he did not oppoſe it. It was done in ſight of his Troops, who had for ſome time blocked up the Place under Pretence of putting the Treaty of *December* 12, 1699, in execution. It might beſides have been a Clauſe in the League, concluded ſometime before between the King of *Sweden* and the Elector. *Charles* XII, engaged to acknowledge his Electoral Highneſs as King of *Pruſſia*, and the Elector promiſed not to aſſiſt the King of *Poland*, but to attack the Republick, in caſe it declared againſt *Sweden*. 1703.

Auguſtus, who was under no ſmall diſcouragement, oppoſed his Enemy's Expeditions only by a Council of Senators, who aſſembled at *Javarow*. They met the 16th of *November*, but were obliged to adjourn the Council to the 21ſt, the Senators, who came thither, being too few in number. He repreſented to the Aſſembly, that having no recourſe for Aid, but to the *Czar*, he intended to ſend the Palatine of *Culm* to him, to renew the Alliance with that Prince, according to the Power given him by the Diet of *Lublin*. *Auguſtus* was the more inclined to take that Step, as General *Patkul*, who was entered into the *Ruſſian* Service, had long ſollicited him to that Alliance. But the Grand Marſhal of the Crown, twelve of the Senators, and ſome Deputies pro- Great Council held at *Javarow*. Proteſt in it.

1704. proteſted againſt the Embaſſy, as it might put a Stop to the Progreſs of the Negotiations. *Auguſtus* was obliged to ſuſpend the Ambaſſador's Journey for a Month, till it could be known in what manner the Treaty would proceed. What added to his Mortification was the making their Reſolution into an Act, in which his Authority was declared ſubordinate to that of the Republick aſſembled in Diet. At the breaking up of this Great Council *Auguſtus* ſet out for *Cracow*, in which Place he ſtayed only two Days, and took Poſt for *Dreſden*, where the States granted him a Subſidy of 600000 Crowns.

During this time the King of *Sweden* had quartered his Army in the Biſhopricks of *Warmia*, and *Ermoland*, and waited the aſſembling of the Confederates at *Warſaw*, whither the Primate had ſummoned them for the 14th of *January*. As only a ſmall number of Deputies came thither, and the *Swediſh* Commiſſioners were not then arrived, the opening of the Aſſembly was deferred till the 30th. Beſides, the Affairs to be conſidered were not of a Nature to be hurried over. It was neceſſary that the Nuncios ſhould take time in concerting their Meaſures, and to aſſure themſelves of each other before they declared their Sentiments. The greateſt part of the Confederates had

Aſſembly of *Warſaw* deferred.

no

no other Deſign in ſecret than to dethrone King *Auguſtus*, and came only to *Warſaw* to put that Deſign in execution. It was however dangerous to be the firſt in ſuch a Propoſal, as ſome of the *Palatinates* had only entered into the Confederacy with a View to the Kingdom's Peace, and the Defence of *Auguſtus*. 1704.

In effect nothing was at firſt talked of but the Preſervation of Liberty, and the Neceſſity of giving Peace to *Poland*. Not the leaſt Word was mentioned of dethroning the King: On the contrary a Deſire to ſupport his Rights and Authority above all things was affected. The Primate himſelf diſſembled an extreme Reſerve in that reſpect. In the Diſcourſe he made upon the opening of the Aſſembly, he contented himſelf with repreſenting, that the Councils of *Thorn*, *Marienburgh*, *Lublin*, and *Javarow*, inſtead of producing the expected good Effects, had only drawn new Sufferings and Difficulties upon the Republick; that he had conſidered another Method which could not fail to be effectual, and that was the uniting *Great Poland* in Confederacy, who as Children of Peace had conſented to join with him, whom they regarded as the Protector of their Laws, Liberty, Religion and Fortunes. He added, that altho' the King was retired from *Warſaw*, for his part

Primate's Affectation.

1704. part he thought himself bound in duty to continue there, and to watch over the Interests of his Country, which he should always have at heart.

And the Marshal's of *Great Poland*. The Marshal of *Great Poland* spoke next. He repeated the Reasons which had induced that Part of the Republick to enter into a Confederacy, and endeavoured to shew that they had not acted like Rebels, but as became a free Nobility, urged to Extremities by the continual Violation of their Privileges, and the Disorders of the *Saxon* Troops. He declared however, that he would continue faithful to the King, and begged the Primate would please to propose some Method by which their Country might be delivered from the Dangers that threatened it.

Division of the Nuncios. Some Nuncios, who spoke afterwards, said, that as the Confederacy contained nothing contradictory to Religion and the King's Authority, they had consented to join in it. But others having expressed great Complaints against *Augustus*, and the Marshal of the Confederacy having said, that when Nature would produce any thing great her Motions were slow, and that it was no wonder the Confederacy proceeded gradually in its Deliberations, as it was necessary to satisfy as well the absent, as present; every body began to perceive the Design

Deſign which had been formed for dethroning *Auguſtus*. But they were fully convinced of it when the *Swediſh* Commiſſioners arrived, and preſented a Letter from the King of *Sweden*, in which he adviſed the Aſſembly to nominate Prince *James Sobieski*, King of *Poland*, and promiſed to employ all his Forces to ſupport him upon the Throne. 1704.

This News raiſed great Debates amongſt the Nuncios. But the Primate's Authority, his Addreſs in reading Letters publickly, which brought Advice, that *Auguſtus* had deſired to treat with the King of *Sweden*, without the Republick's participation, the hope of reſtoring the Peace of *Poland*, and the fear of offending the King of *Sweden*, overcame the Repugnance of the Deputies in the oppoſition; ſo that the Confederacy compoſed of the Primate, the Biſhop, and Palatine of *Poſnania*, the Caſtellan of *Plosko*, and the Deputies of ſeven or eight *Palatinates*, in an Aſſembly held the 14th of *February*, declared King *Auguſtus* fallen from all Right and Title to the Crown, for having violated the Laws and Privileges of the Nation, which according to the *Pacta Conventa*, was thereby diſcharged from all Obedience promiſed to him. This Reſolution was confirmed the 18th by a ſolemn Oath. It was alſo decreed, that the Revenues

Motives againſt the Oppoſition.

Auguſtus declared fallen from all Right to the Crown.

1704. nues of the Crown ſhould be ſeized, and the Adherents of *Auguſtus* regarded as Enemies to their Country. The Primate was deſired to proclaim the Interregnum, which was done accordingly, and a General Diet ſummoned for the 20th of *June*, to proceed to the Election of a new King.

FINIS.



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Tangit, & admiſſus circum præcordia ludit.
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